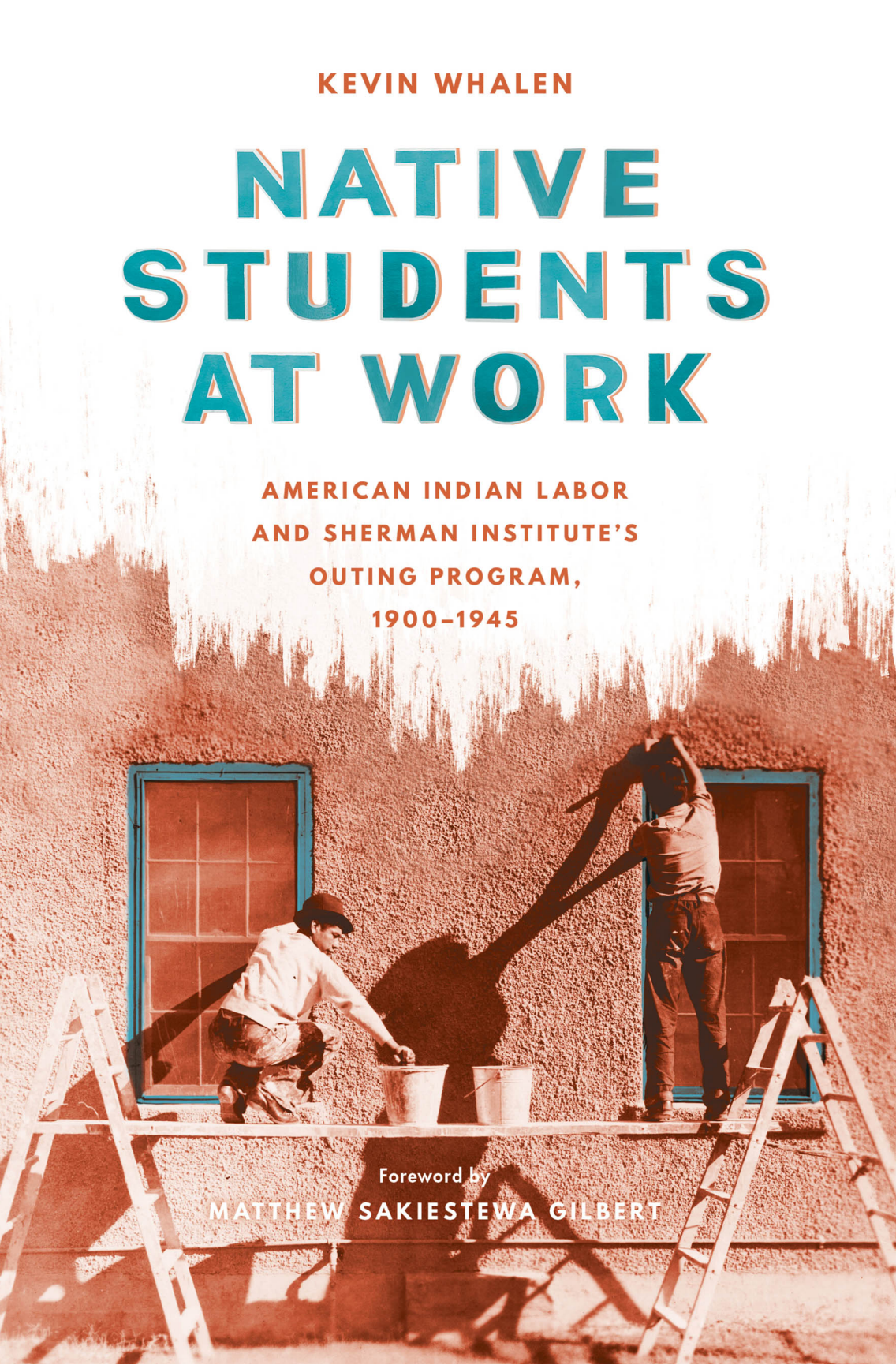
KEVIN WHALEN

NATIVE STUDENTS AT WORK

AMERICAN INDIAN LABOR AND SHERMAN INSTITUTE'S OUTING PROGRAM, 1900–1945



Foreword by

MATTHEW SAKIESTEWA GILBERT

Charlotte Cotè, Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert,
and Coll Thrush, *Series Editors*

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FOREWORD

Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

When I was working with Clifford Trafzer on an edited collection on Sherman Institute entitled *The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue*, he kept raving about a student named Kevin Whalen who was conducting research on the school's outing program. Cliff wanted me to consider including Kevin's essay in our book, a chapter he had written entitled "Labored Learning." Cliff's undying enthusiasm caused me to take special notice of Kevin and his work.

In the academy it is common for established scholars to "guard turf" and to be critical of others who do work in their area of research. All junior scholars experience this to some degree, and even I allowed this mentality to influence my initial thoughts about Kevin. Who was this "star," as Cliff described him, and what more could he possibly add to what I—and others—have already done? While these were my initial reactions, my opinion quickly changed once I began reading Kevin's essay. It took only a few pages into his chapter for me to realize that his work was too good, and his writing too polished, for me to deny that there was something special about him and his work. Needless to say, we added the young scholar's chapter to our book.

In this book Kevin takes things even further, explaining how, at the beginning of the 1900s, officials at Sherman sent Native students off-campus to work as domestic servants, ranch hands, and many other occupations. He notes that school officials and local ranchers used the agricultural industry of Southern California to further U.S. government assimilation goals and to fill the region's labor needs, respectively. And he explores the reasons why Indian students agreed—and often requested—to work beyond the "school walls" at places such as the Fontana Ranch and at the many citrus orchards in the greater Riverside area. Although I previously had written about Hopi students who participated in the school's outing program in my own book, *Education beyond the Mesas*, Kevin takes the conversation to a different level as he has now established himself as an authority on Sherman and Indian labor at off-reservation Indian boarding schools.

At the University of California, Riverside, under the mentorship of Cliff and Ojibwe historian Rebecca "Monte" Kugel, Kevin learned the importance of working with Native communities, and not just writing about them. Our

professors taught us the value of contributing something useful to Indian tribes, and they urged us to consider how our research can benefit Native communities. The education that we received in Native history there was a combination of the theoretical and the practical. Familiarity with archives and the process of honing skills needed to analyze documents was only part of our training. Cliff and Monte also encouraged us to leave the comforts of campus and interact with and work alongside Native people. Kevin certainly experienced this; he regularly accompanied Cliff to community gatherings on and off Indian reservations in Southern California, including the Colorado River Indian Tribes. And he interviewed numerous individuals for his book, including the director of the Sherman Indian Museum, Lorene Sisquoc, and a former Sherman student, Galen Townsend, to name a few.

After Kevin finished at UC Riverside, he became my colleague at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and continued working on his book as a Chancellor's Postdoctoral Fellow of American Indian Studies, where he gained additional valuable insights from our director, Robert Warrior, and other colleagues and students. Unfortunately, Kevin arrived right as a crisis was unfolding over the university's improper "de-hiring" of an AIS faculty member. Although new to campus, Kevin proved he was a true ally by standing in solidarity with me and my colleagues as we protested the university's decision and demonstrated our commitment to shared governance and academic freedom. Nobody expected Kevin to join the fight, but he eagerly engaged in the protests, and soon it became clear to all that *our* struggle had also become *his* struggle.

This book, then, has emerged from numerous spaces, and each of these spaces has influenced *Native Students at Work* in unique ways. They have all done their part to transform what started as a chapter of an edited collection into the present volume. Kevin will no doubt write other books. He may even one day write a second book on Sherman or some other aspect of Indian boarding schools. But for me, this book will always remain special. Not many scholars get an opportunity to help shepherd a project from its infancy to publication. I did just that, and throughout all of these challenges, I remain grateful to Kevin for allowing me to accompany him on this journey.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

After six years spent working on this project, I have accrued debts large and small. Bert Ahern, Stephen Gross, and Roland Guyotte gave me the confidence to become a historian. Clifford Trafzer was the best kind of mentor a young historian could ask for, and Monte Kugel gave me more time than she should have. Catherine Gudis, Michelle Raheja, Devra Weber, Larry Burgess, and David Biggs provided feedback at crucial junctures. Thanks to David Buhl, Bob Przeklasa, Russell Fehr, and Jeno Kim for pushing me to think about boarding schools as part of a bigger picture. Nicolas Rosenthal improved the manuscript immeasurably with his thorough and helpful feedback as a referee for the University of Washington Press, as did a second, anonymous reviewer.

A year spent as a postdoctoral fellow in American Indian Studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign provided valuable time to think and write, and I'm forever thankful for my colleagues there. Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert read countless drafts and helped to sharpen dull edges. Robert Warrior and Jodi Byrd provided advice as I framed and reframed my work. Bob Parker, John McKinn, Jenny Davis, Paul McKenzie-Jones, and Tess Bundy also gave valuable feedback. At Illinois I was also fortunate to workshop chapter 2 with the Labor and Working-Class History reading group. Many thanks to Raquel Escobar, Carolina Ortega, Gus Bradley, Juan Mora, Tariq Kahn, and Kathryn Oberdeck for their careful readings. Kyle Mays, Bryce Henson, and Eduardo Coronel made my time at Illinois more fun than it should have been.

Native Students at Work looks at every turn to cultivate Native voices and perspectives. Most of those voices speak from archival sources. As I ruminated on the words and actions of indigenous people who navigated the tumultuous waters of federal labor programs in Southern California, I relied continually on the wisdom held by the community of people at Sherman Indian Museum and the Sherman Indian High School, many of whom are descendants of former students and participants in the outing system at Sherman Institute and other federal Indian boarding schools. In particular, interviews and conversations with Galen Townsend, Lorene Sisquoc, Hattie Lomayesva, and Michael Tsosie helped me to consider and reconsider the multiple and complex layers of meaning within the experiences of the young people who navigated federal labor

programs at Sherman Institute and in Los Angeles. My research and the work of others would not be possible without the time that Lorene, Galen, and Hattie spend as volunteers at the museum. My sincere thanks to these three and the entire Sherman community.

At conference panels where I presented portions of this work, Daniel Cobb, William J. Bauer Jr., Brian Hosmer, Clara Sue Kidwell, Cathleen Cahill, David Wallace Adams, K. Tsianina Lomawaima, Maureen T. Schwarz, Philip J. Deloria, Doug Miller, Farina King, and Khalil Anthony Johnson Jr. asked questions and provided feedback that helped to shape this book. I also owe a debt of gratitude to the scholars who have written about American Indian education and labor before me, including K. Tsianina Lomawaima, Brenda Child, Michael Coleman, Jon Allan Reyhner, Jeanne Eder, Devon Mihesuah, Scott Riney, Clyde Ellis, Jean Keller, Adam Fortunate Eagle, Margaret Connell-Szasz, Margaret Jacobs, Diana Meyers Bahr, Amelia Katanski, Ruth Spack, Leleua Loupe, William Medina, Myriam Vuckovic, Jacqueline Fear-Segal, Bert Ahern, Brian Hosmer, Colleen O'Neill, Daniel Usner, Patricia Albers, Alice Littlefield, Martha Knack, Victoria Haskins, Cathleen Cahill, and William J. Bauer Jr.

Many talented archivists guided me to sources for this work. At the National Archives in Riverside, California, Randy Thompson, Gwen Granados, and Monique Sugimoto pulled countless boxes for me as I made their research room my home away from home. David Kesler of the Bancroft Library led me to some incredible labor records, and Deborah Osterberg provided material on short notice at the National Archives in San Bruno, California. Thanks, too, to the staffs of the downtown branch of the National Archives in Washington, D.C., and the National Personnel Records Center in St. Louis, Missouri.

Research grants from the American Philosophical Society's Phillips Fund for Native American Research and the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, allowed me to dig through the archives, and a yearlong fellowship from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and the American Council of Learned Societies provided time to think and write. Thanks to these agencies for their generous support. Earlier versions of chapter 1 appeared in *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, volume 36, number 1, by permission of the American Indian Studies Center, UCLA © 2012 Regents of the University of California, and in *The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue*, edited by Clifford E. Trafzer, Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, and Lorene Sisquoc (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2012). Material from chapter 2 appeared in the *Pacific Historical Review* and is included here by their permission. Many thanks to *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, *Pacific Historical Review,* and

the Oregon State University Press for permission to reprint revised portions of these materials.

At the University of Washington Press, many thanks to Ranjit Arab, Jacqueline Volin, and Rachael Levay. All three were a pleasure to work with. Thanks also to copy editor Judith Hoover, and to Tim Roberts for shepherding the book through the final stages of production. Thanks to Bill Nelson for his maps, and Jayne Blodgett for indexing the book. Special thanks to my new colleagues at the University of Minnesota, Morris, who have provided an incredible intellectual community as I have finished this project."

Patrick and Judy Whalen loved me unconditionally—even when I chose to become a historian. Thanks to my siblings, Heather, Brian, and Shannon. Their advice and their willingness to listen have always been gifts. I saved Allison for last. I hope I can give her half of what she has given me. May this book be only the beginning.

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NATIVE STUDENTS AT WORK

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Introduction

SHERMAN INSTITUTE IS NOT WHAT IT USED TO BE. REBRANDED BY the Bureau of Indian Affairs as Sherman Indian High School in 1971, the federal Indian school located in the heart of Southern California Indian country has undergone drastic changes in its century-long existence. Sherman once stood at the forefront of government efforts to erase indigenous identities and replace them with white, Protestant culture. The push for the assimilation of indigenous peoples faded during the 1960s and 1970s as Native leaders transformed the schools into places that nurtured and respected indigenous cultures instead of erasing them. Today, indigenous cultures form integral pieces of the school's curriculum.[1]

As the mission and curriculum changed at Sherman Institute, so did the physical space of the school. Built in 1902, it was a showcase for the Office of Indian Affairs and a grand homage to the Spanish fantasy past that came into fashion in Southern California during the early twentieth century. Carloads of tourists rode seven miles south and west along the citrus-laden Magnolia Avenue from downtown Riverside to the school. Visitors entered the school from Magnolia Avenue and looked over a vast, green parade ground and neat lines of swaying palm trees to three mission-style buildings, complete with signature red tile roofs, stucco walls, arched windows, and bell-shaped parapets. The school's main classroom building stood at the center of the campus, flanked by administration and dormitory buildings.[2]

The use of mission style fit neatly within a broader campaign to draw tourists to Southern California by promoting an idealized, carefree past in which Catholic priests converted unassuming Indians to Christianity and taught them how to work and pray. Just as Spanish friars had "uplifted" indigenous Californians by teaching them Catholicism and making them work, officials at

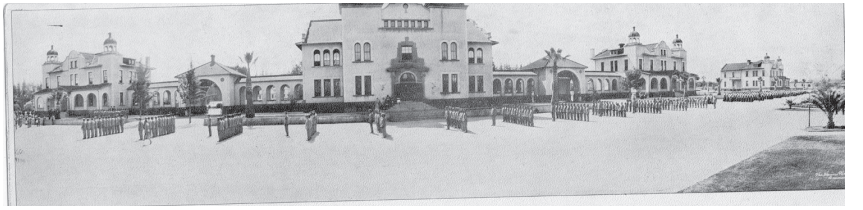


FIG. 1.1. View of Sherman Institute from Magnolia Avenue, ca. 1903. Photo courtesy of Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, CA.

Sherman would further the work of assimilating indigenous peoples into the dominant culture.[3] Some visitors came to witness cultural displays by students, others to relax and reflect in the aesthetic beauty of the campus, and still others to witness the supposed march from savagery to civilization in the form of plays, band concerts, and military exercises. For better or worse, the campus became a focal point for tourists and residents of Riverside.[4]

As the twentieth century marched onward, Sherman grew larger in size and stature. From an original core of eleven buildings used by 350 students in 1902, the campus expanded to include more than forty buildings at the height of its enrollment in the late 1920s, when over one thousand students attended the school.[5] The growth of the campus allowed for yet another venue to showcase the progress students made in their alleged march away from Indianness and toward whiteness: labor. While local contractors built the original core of the campus, student laborers performed the vast majority of work as the school expanded during the two decades following its opening. Young men from the school built dormitories for students and employees, a hospital, vocational workshops, farm buildings, and an auditorium. As students constructed the campus, school officials argued that they gained valuable experience as carpenters, masons, engineers, plumbers, electricians, plasterers, painters, blacksmiths, and roofers. Teachers and administrators integrated construction-related jobs into the school's "half-day system," under which students attended rudimentary academic courses for part of each day and spent the remainder performing labor related to the upkeep of the school.[6]

Vocational courses and practical experience in constructing and maintaining the campus stood as part of a broader curricular effort to prepare students at Sherman to work at the bottom of an industrializing economy. The final component of the school's labor curriculum was the "outing

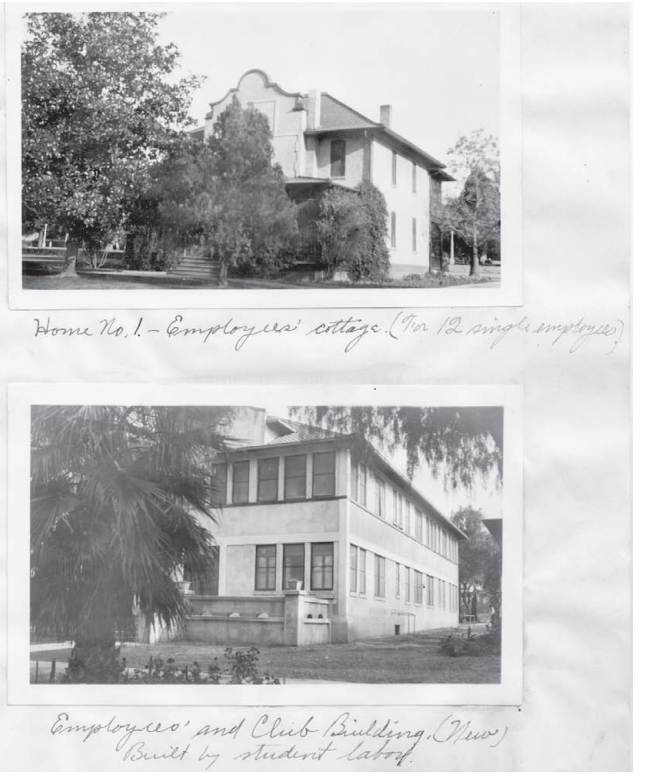


FIG. 1.2. Employees' Cottage and Employees' Club Building, n.d. An unknown caption writer boasts that the employees' and club building was "built by student labor." Photo courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

system," under which students lived and worked within white-owned households and businesses, first in Riverside, and then across Southern California. Young women labored as domestic workers in affluent households, and young men performed a variety of tasks on farms and ranches. The outing system functioned as a vital part of a larger federal Indian boarding school system that sought, in the words of historian Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, to make Indian students "think, behave, work, and look less like Native people, and more like white Protestant Americans."[7] Laboring in places as varied as print shops and beet fields would help, Indian educator Richard Henry Pratt said, to "kill the Indian and save the man."[8] Together, outing labor, classroom vocational studies, and work performed for the upkeep of

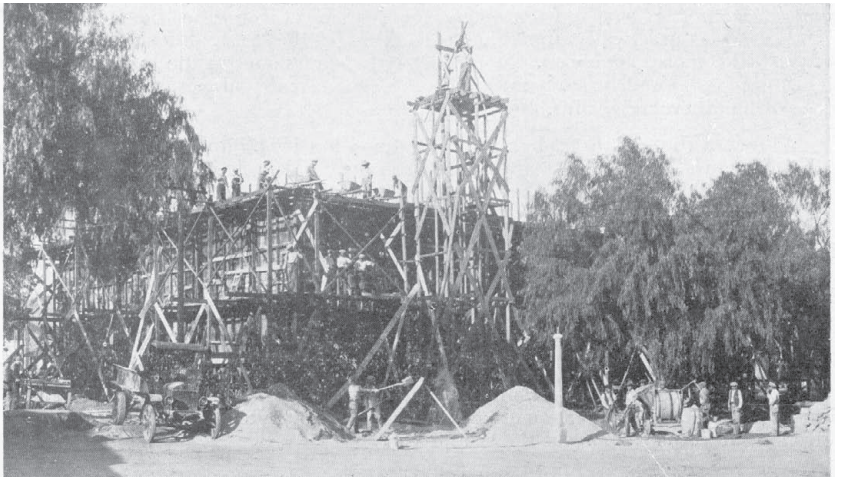


FIG. 1.3. Students build a new auditorium, 1926. Photo courtesy of the Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, CA.

their school would fundamentally transform Native students and thereby solve the so-called Indian problem.

Sherman's original campus lasted until 1970, when inspectors from the State of California declared the vast majority of the school's structures unfit to withstand earthquakes.[9] As the old buildings came tumbling down, so too did the symbolic centerpiece of the labor curriculum that sought to assimilate Native students during the first half of the twentieth century. Today, visitors to Sherman Indian High School are hard-pressed to find evidence of the school's original physical structure. Only the superintendent's office survived the rash of demolitions. The building still stands at the corner of Jackson and Magnolia Avenues, where it houses Sherman Indian Museum, a crowded, three-room treasure trove that holds rich volumes of documents and photographs related to the history of Sherman Institute.

At first glance it appears as though the documents housed in the museum are all that remain of the old campus and the labor performed by the students who built it. Look carefully, though, and a few pieces of the old school remain scattered across the palm-laden campus. The research room features an ornately decorated oak table, complete with intricately carved feet. Museum attendant Galen Townsend (Shoshone/Paiute) proudly noted that students made the table under the supervision of his father, Ross, who participated in the outing system and later worked as a carpenter and shop teacher at

FIG. 1.4. Students at work plastering a building, 1937. Photo courtesy of the Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, CA.

the school from the 1930s through the 1960s. In front of the school at the curbside of Magnolia Avenue is a concrete bus bench. "Students made these benches during the 1930s," reported Townsend. The bench is a thick concrete plank laid across two sturdy feet—far less detailed than the table inside the museum. Still, it was built to last. "This bench," said Townsend, "has been here my whole life."

There is more than a little irony in the continued presence of these objects. The campus at Sherman Institute was supposed to be a place of rapid and indelible transformation, a place where young people shed indigenous cultures and languages and emerged into white, Protestant civilization as common laborers. Nothing embodied this transformation more thoroughly than the campus itself. It was, after all, built largely with student labor that aimed to make students less like Indians and more like white, Protestant Americans. A little more than a century after Sherman opened its doors, its efforts at assimilation are gone. A wooden table and a concrete bench are among the few objects from the first decades at Sherman Institute that have lasted into the twenty-first century. While the policies of assimilation did grave damage to Native communities and their cultures, they faded away before they could fulfill their mission. Native

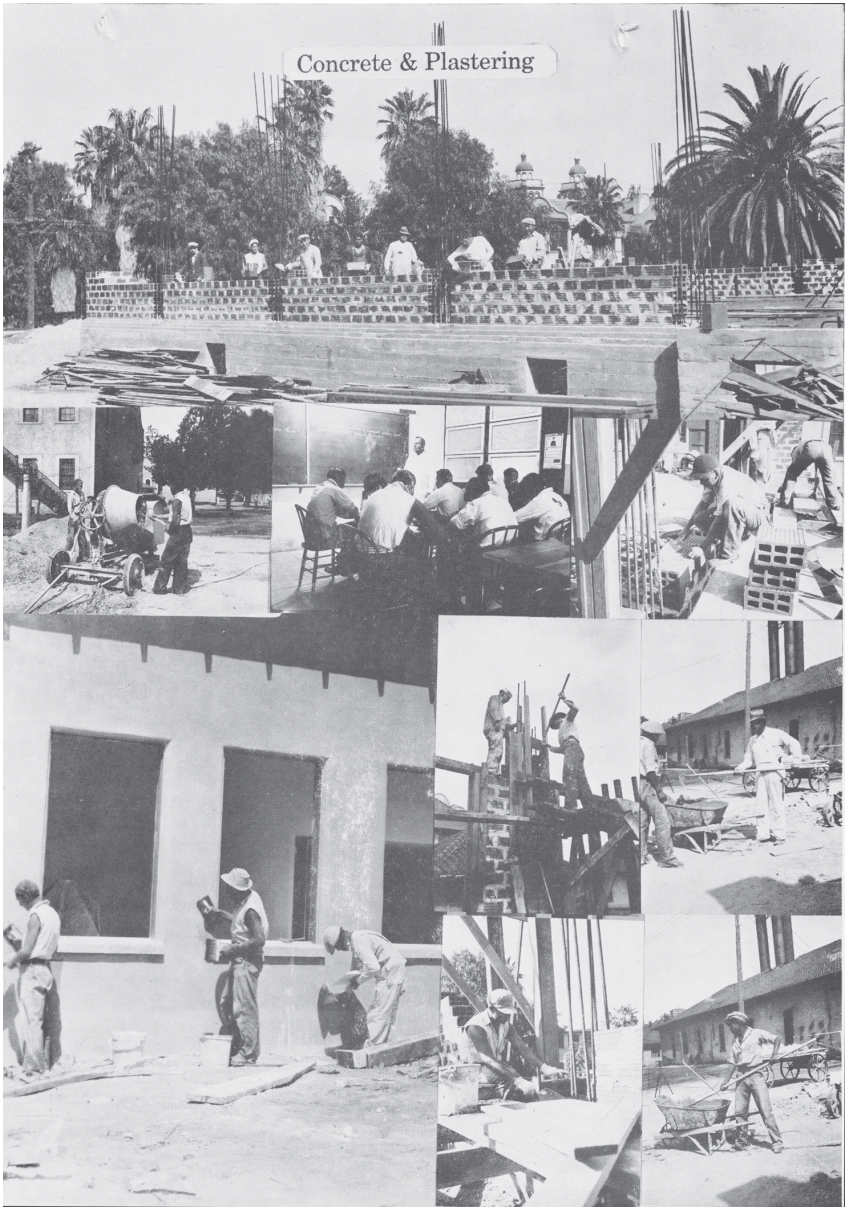


FIG 1.5. Students constructing campus buildings as part of the concrete and plastering curriculum, 1933. Photo courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

identities lived on, despite the damages rendered by boarding schools and their deeply ethnocentric labor programs.

For many students, the very labor programs that aimed to erase indigenous identities became tools they used to preserve their communities and cultures. At Sherman Institute and in Los Angeles, outing programs became integral components within the survival strategies of young Native people and their communities during the early twentieth century. Between 1902 and 1940, Native people from across the Southwest used outing programs at Sherman Institute and in Los Angeles to gain access to urban Southern California, its jobs, and its intertribal networks of urban Indians. Sherman Institute and the Los Angeles outing center became hubs within far-reaching migrations that took Native people beyond the reservation boundaries and boarding school walls that have so often defined the study of Native America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In wealthy white homes, on factory floors and industrial farms, young men and women braved unsupervised and often dangerous working conditions in order to make more money than they could at home on their reservations. These students and their communities made a federal bureaucracy designed to erase Native identities into a crucial component within strategies for cultural survival.

As indigenous people from across the American Southwest learned to navigate the outing system, they combined labor, migration, and expertise in federal bureaucracy in order to forge creative and deeply modern pathways into the second half of the twentieth century. *Native Students at Work* tells their stories. Sherman Institute opened Southern California's first outing system during its inaugural year, 1902, and chapter 1 traces the experiences of the students and communities who first navigated it. Laboring far from home as domestic workers and farmhands throughout Southern California, these early outing workers often endured dangerous, unsupervised working conditions and the low expectations of an outing system that pushed them toward the bottom of a racialized working class. Yet many students learned to effectively negotiate these challenges, whether by pushing back against overbearing matrons or relentlessly pursuing late payments from their employers. Others came from afar, using outing at Sherman to earn more than they could near their home communities. These students demonstrated mobility and expertise in bureaucracy that would come to define Native approaches to the outing system as it expanded throughout Southern California. Their stories add an important element of agency to the history of Indian education.

As the outing system grew larger and more sophisticated, hundreds of male students from Sherman worked and lived at Fontana Farms, an industrial farm located fifteen miles north of Riverside in Fontana, California. Their narratives are the focus of chapter 2. Combined with Sherman's outing files, labor records from the State of California allow for a in-depth look at student experiences in Fontana. The portrait they provide is not a happy one. These students lived in filthy, racially segregated quarters, and they were lumped in with nonwhite workers who earned far less than their white counterparts. Still, many sought work at Fontana and places like it, where they earned far more than they could at home. Many students walked away from Fontana with hundreds of dollars, and some managed to use their hard-earned cash to return home and live more comfortably. These young men used outing labor in ways that took root within their cultures and helped to strengthen them in turn. Attention to how they integrated outing work at Fontana into broader patterns of migration and wage labor provides a deeper look at student agency within Indian education, and it helps to demonstrate how Sherman Institute and other urban, off-reservation boarding schools functioned within the political economies that existed beyond their walls.

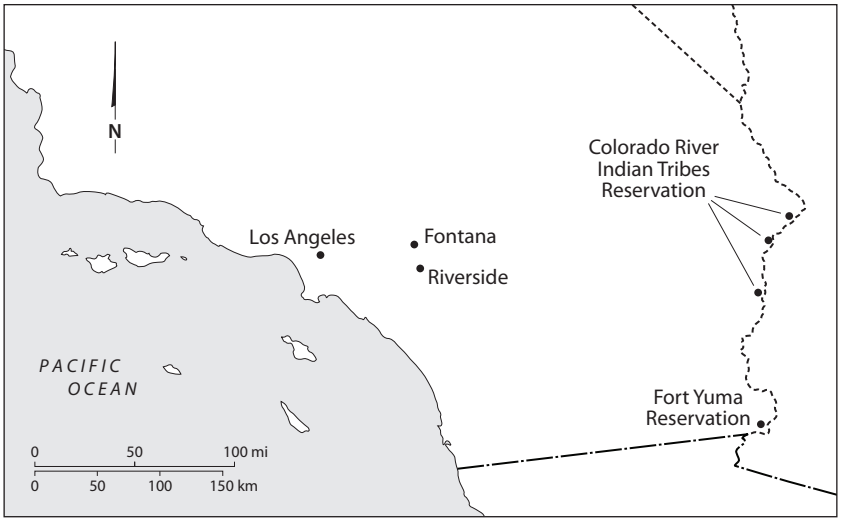
Later, when the Office of Indian Affairs opened an outing center in Los Angeles, young women developed employment networks and social circles in the city. While the outing center was badly underfunded and poorly run, they nonetheless adeptly used it as a path to jobs, housing, and public schools in the city. Chapter 3 chronicles the experiences of young women who used the Los Angeles outing center as a hub within seasonal patterns of migration and wage labor, creating valuable experiences within an outing bureaucracy that appeared to offer only demeaning, exploitative labor. Like their male counterparts at Fontana Farms, these women pushed beyond the boarding schools and reservations that have defined the study of Native America. Their stories provide important windows into Native urbanization during the early twentieth century.

Chapter 4 examines the fallout from the decision of the Office of Indian Affairs to close the outing center in Los Angeles. As he shuttered outing centers in Southern California and elsewhere in 1933, Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier cited a desire for Native people to return to reservations, where they could demonstrate what he saw as collectivist alternatives to the depraved order of industrial capitalism. Indians, argued Collier, belonged on reservations, even if they had used outing to integrate urban areas into their community lives. Students at Sherman Institute responded by pivoting from

labor programs to higher education, beginning a decade-long push for the federal government to provide loans and housing as they attended colleges and universities across the United States. Just as their predecessors did with the outing system, then, Native people in the federal higher education program creatively used an ethnocentric bureaucracy in order to chart deeply modern pathways into the twentieth century. A look at the shift from outing labor to higher education sheds light on a little-known aspect of Indian New Deal policy, under which students from Sherman and elsewhere formed a vanguard of Native university students that came well ahead of the strikes and sit-ins of the 1960s. Moreover, higher education narratives from the 1930s demonstrate that even as the shape and form of federal programs changed, Native communities adjusted and continued to draw from them as much as they could.

I am far from the first scholar to point out what historian Frederick E. Hoxie has called "the irony of assimilation." Boarding schools and other assimilationist programs, noted Hoxie, ultimately galvanized indigenous identities instead of erasing them. More recently historians Clifford E. Trafzer and Patricia Dixon have argued that students "turned the power" and used elements of their own cultures to survive the day-to-day challenges of federal Indian boarding schools and emerge with their cultures intact, or even strengthened.[10] Others have found that Native families utilized the schools for food and shelter during times of economic difficulty.[11] At federal Indian boarding schools across the western United States, young people often carved out secret spaces where they spoke their Native languages, sang, danced, hunted, and practiced other elements of their cultures. Away from the watchful eyes of school employees, students developed intertribal friendships and romances, sowing the seeds of the pantribalism that came to characterize Native political activism in the twentieth century. Whether motivated by homesickness or abusive treatment, many students chose to run away from school.[12] Since the late 1980s scholars have delved into the boarding school experience and provided a stronger understanding of the creative approaches taken by indigenous students and communities in order to survive the schools.[13]

As scholarship on the boarding school experience has grown, Sherman Institute has received more attention than perhaps any other institution. With her study of student health at Sherman Institute, historian Jean Keller called into question the popular imagination of federal Indian boarding schools as death traps. Historian Leleua Loupe, on the other hand, highlighted the dangers faced by students at Sherman and the strategies that some students and communities employed to avoid the school.[14] More recently, Sakiestewa Gilbert



MAP I.1. During the early twentieth century, Native people from around the American Southwest used outing programs at Sherman Institute to find work in Southern California. Young men from the school worked at Fontana Farms in Fontana. Women, many of whom hailed from the Colorado River Indian Tribes Reservation and the Fort Yuma Reservation, labored as domestic workers in Los Angeles and adjacent cities.

approached Sherman Institute through the lens of Hopi culture. In so doing he pushed the study of Indian education even further toward acknowledgment of indigenous agency. Much in the vein of Sakiestewa Gilbert's work, historians William J. Bauer Jr. and Robin Catherine Thomas examined student lives at Sherman Institute through the lenses of indigenous families and cultures.[15] In 2013 Trafzer, Sakiestewa Gilbert, and Lorene Sisquoc published an edited volume on Sherman Institute that tackled a number of topics not previously explored in depth within the study of Indian education, including architecture, nursing programs, boarding school cemeteries, and the role of patriotism in the operation and marketing of the schools. Finally, with her 2014 study of Sherman Institute, historian Diana Meyers Bahr became one of the first scholars to examine student experiences at a federal Indian boarding school during the second half of the twentieth century.[16]

Scholarship on Sherman Institute and other schools has done much to reveal the depth and variability of boarding school experiences. To date, however, student labor at federal Indian boarding schools has not been explored as an area in which Native people exercised agency in order to preserve their cultures

and identities. Many scholars of Indian education have noted the centrality of work within boarding school experiences. Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, courses of study adopted by the Office of Indian Affairs called for students to spend one half of each day in academic courses and the other half performing labor related to the upkeep of the school. Many students also participated in the outing system. Such work, school administrators believed, would make Native students more like the white, Protestant families with whom they lived and labored. A handful of historians have observed that at least some students took pride in the opportunity to work and make money, and Ojibwe autobiographer Adam Fortunate Eagle attributed much of his success in life to vocational learning at the Pipestone Indian School in Pipestone, Minnesota, during the 1930s and 1940s.[17] Most scholarly assessments of labor at federal Indian boarding schools form brief portions of larger works and focus on the negative effects of labor systems within the schools. Time spent working took away from academic learning, for example, and many students experienced physical exhaustion, illness, and even death from days filled with demanding physical tasks such as doing laundry, cooking, baking, sewing, and farming, among others. Irene Stewart, a Navajo autobiographer and a former student at Fort Defiance Indian School, captured in a simple sentence the dilemmas faced by overworked students at boarding schools: "We were too tired to study."[18]

While scholars of Indian education have unearthed the strategies of indigenous people within the context of day-to-day struggles at federal Indian boarding schools, much remains to be learned about how Native students and communities approached labor programs. Vocational curricula, student labor related to the upkeep of the schools, and outing systems dominated the boarding school experience during the first half of the twentieth century. Just as they did with other elements of the misguided experiment in assimilationist education, Native students and communities survived the labor programs that aimed to assimilate them. At times their approaches to these programs even contributed to the survival of indigenous cultures and identities into the twentieth century. Working in the factories of Los Angeles and the fields at the city's peripheries, many Native people in the outing system accessed wage labor jobs not available at home and utilized their earnings to survive on cash-strapped reservations. In much the same way, young women used domestic work in the city to gain access to wages, skills, and perspectives not found at home. Many were especially eager to attend Los Angeles public schools, which proved far superior to institutions operated by the Office of Indian Affairs. Their stories

provide depth and texture to our understanding of how Native people endured the challenges presented by government education systems, and colonialism more generally, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Native Students at Work also reexamines the spaces of off-reservation, federal Indian boarding schools. Just as most studies of Native America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century portray Native people as trapped within the boundaries of reservations, the study of Indian education has thus far been firmly rooted within the walls of the schools. Outing narratives from Sherman Institute demonstrate that as Native communities came to use labor programs to find jobs, housing, and skills in Southern California, Sherman Institute and the Los Angeles outing center became crucial way stations within large-scale migrations in which thousands of Native people traveled far from home in search of new opportunities. Rather than functioning solely as a place of isolation for Native people, Sherman Institute became a sort of migratory hub for many students and their communities. Along with highlighting Native agency in approaching federal education systems, attention to these patterns of mobility and wage labor pushes the study of Indian education to consider connections between federal Indian boarding schools and the communities in which they existed.

If narratives from the outing systems of Southern California enrich our knowledge of Indian education, they also elucidate the important roles played by outing programs as Native communities blended culture and labor in order to survive the difficult years of the so-called Reservation Era. These narratives build a new bridge between the literatures on Indian education and Native wage labor. Since the late 1990s a growing number of scholars has pioneered the study of Indian labor. Anthropologists Alice Littlefield and Martha Knack noted that well into the mid-1990s, scholars often ignored Native engagement with wage labor markets as they sought instead to find and preserve "authentic" indigenous languages and cultures before they disappeared forever. Littlefield and Knack suggested that wage labor and indigenous identity were not mutually exclusive and that Native communities sometimes combined new forms of work with long-standing cultural identities as they came into increasing contact with newcomers.[19]

Littlefield and Knack's groundbreaking volume led a new literature on indigenous work. Where scholars had once seen only cultural degradation among groups who engaged capitalist markets, historian Brian C. Hosmer found a more complex story among the Menominee and Metlakatla peoples. While the market presented challenges to both groups, Hosmer argued that they

"attempted to reshape its operations so as to be less destructive to cultural values on the one hand and productive of political and economic independence on the other."[20] Historian Colleen O'Neill uncovered similar processes among Navajo people during the first half of the twentieth century. As Navajos migrated and worked for wages, argued O'Neill, they did so "in ways that made sense within their own cultural frameworks." Bauer placed even more emphasis on indigenous agency within the capitalist marketplace. Indigenous peoples on California's Round Valley Reservation, he wrote, "used wage labor to ensure family economic survival, forge social connections with other Native people in Northern California, and maintain close connections with the land." For people at Round Valley, picking hops and shearing sheep offered avenues for survival and became intertwined with cultural identity.[21]

Hosmer, O'Neill, and Bauer have shown that indigenous peoples of the early twentieth century were not completely defined by the rapidly changing economic, social, and political conditions in which they lived and labored. Rather they maintained an important degree of control over their lives as they carefully integrated wage labor within their cultures. Just as significantly, these scholars put to rest the antiquated notion that indigenous people failed to remain "real Indians" as they engaged with capitalist markets and wage work. As O'Neill has noted, the term *capitalism* has become fundamentally intertwined with modernity. Beginning in the eighteenth century, Enlightenment thinkers posited a break with the tradition and superstition of the past, arguing that universal truths could be discovered through scientific observation, logic, and reason. Under this set of ideas, progress became deeply tied to ways of thinking and being in the world that took root in Western Europe, including trends toward industrialization, specialization, secularization, and the rise of bureaucracies. Colonizing governments ridiculed those who appeared to operate outside of these trends as opponents of reason and progress. As capitalism and modernity became coupled in the United States and elsewhere, ideas about who and what could be modern left little room for Native people to engage with wage labor markets and remain Native. Those who operated outside of capitalist markets became symbols of a primitive lifestyle that would soon die away. On the other hand, those who engaged with capitalist markets ceased to be Native. One could be Native, or one could be capitalist—but never both.[22]

Despite the false divide between modernity and indigeneity, many Native people managed to engage with the marketplace in ways that allowed for and even strengthened their cultures and identities. For Native people, modernity and cultural identity did not play out as an either/or affair. Rather, as O'Neill has

argued, indigenous people "created alternative pathways of economic and cultural change that were not merely static renditions of some timeless past or total acceptance of U.S. capitalist culture."[23] As Native people used outing programs in Southern California to earn money and acquire new skills and perspectives, they became part of a broader story in which American Indians integrated new ways of working into their cultures in order to carry on into the twentieth century. Within many communities, federal education programs and wage labor became woven together in significant ways. This book argues that considering Native education and wage labor in tandem enriches the literatures on both topics.

While *Native Students at Work* pushes the study of Native labor toward a deeper consideration of indigenous participation within federal labor programs, it also speaks to broader issues within the field of labor history. Labor historians have long grappled with the precarious balance between the restrictive power of employers and the agency of workers who attempted to establish measures of control over how, when, and for how much money they worked. Until recently these studies focused on white, Christian men who battled their employers for control over working conditions and the right to unionize and, later, for greater access to rising patterns of consumerism that took hold within the United States during the mid-twentieth century.[24]

Narratives based on the working lives of Native people help to move labor history beyond a teleological scale, with low wages and abusive employers on one end and unionization and workers' control on the other. To be sure, Native outing laborers sometimes worked together in order to achieve higher wages. Yet they were far more likely to exercise agency by choosing how and when to use the outing system to find work, and by integrating wage labor into their lives in ways that meshed with their cultures and fostered skills and perspectives that would be of use to their communities. Young men pursued opportunities to make more money than they could closer to home, and Native women fought for the opportunity to labor as domestic workers in Los Angeles for the English language skills that came with living and working with non-Native people. Many also jumped at the chance to live and work in the city full time in order to attend public schools that proved far superior to those operated by the Office of Indian Affairs. Others simply wanted to experience the social life of Los Angeles. For both men and women, outing labor often allowed the flexibility to leave jobs and go home to take care of family members or attend to ceremonial obligations and then quickly find work again when they wanted to return to wage labor. The cultures of Native domestic and agricultural workers profoundly shaped their approaches to wage labor and what they tried to get

from it. Their stories join a rising chorus of voices that speak from beyond the confines of what labor history has been in years past and point toward what it can be in the future.[25]

While *Native Students at Work* focuses on the agency of Native people, by no means do I wish to underplay the damage done by the colonial structures in which indigenous Americans operated during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Outing programs and the capitalist markets into which they funneled Native people did very real harm to Indian communities, even as they provided pathways for cultural survival.[26] Like Patricia Albers, Loretta Fowler, and Brian C. Hosmer before me, I see Native people as exercising agency within colonizing conditions that limited available avenues of action, often severely so. As the narratives within this study highlight the creativity and ingenuity of Native people who successfully navigated deeply ethnocentric boarding schools and labor programs, they also provide new texture and detail to what we know about how colonialism functioned in the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[27]

In addition to diversifying the pool of workers within the literature on labor history, this study sheds new light on the unique role played by the state with relation to the working lives of Native people between 1900 and 1945. During that time, officials at boarding schools served as both legal guardians and labor agents when they sent Native students to live and work in white-owned households and businesses. Historians have unearthed instances in which the state played an active role in shaping where and how people worked, with much attention given to the *bracero* program, under which the U.S. government imported and exported Mexican farm workers between 1942 and 1967.[28] Outing constituted another significant instance in which the federal government served as a labor contractor for thousands of people across the American Southwest. The program functioned not only at Sherman Institute and in Los Angeles, but also at outing centers in Berkeley, Phoenix, Tucson, and Reno. Outing systems also became prominent parts of the curricula at boarding schools across the West, including Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, the Phoenix Indian School, the Genoa Industrial School in Nebraska, the Flandreau Indian School in South Dakota, the Grand Junction Boarding School in Colorado, and the Albuquerque and Santa Fe Indian Schools.[29] Moreover, in 1905 the Office of Indian Affairs created an Indian Employment Bureau, headed by Charles Dagenett, a Peoria. In the decades before World War II the Indian Employment Bureau based agents in Salt Lake City, Albuquerque, Phoenix, and other cities and placed thousands of Native men into mostly agricultural wage labor positions; many worked in the sugar beet fields

of Kansas, Colorado, and Nebraska. While *Native Students at Work* focuses on Native people who navigated outing programs at Sherman Institute and in Los Angeles, these narratives provide windows into a much larger trend in which the federal government sent thousands of Native people to work under outing programs across the western United States.[30]

The mobility demonstrated by Native people as they navigated outing bureaucracies has profound weight within the broader study of American Indian peoples. A handful of scholars have illuminated the movement of Native people to urban areas following World War II.[31] Outing narratives demonstrate that Native communities began using government bureaucracies to enter cities in significant numbers well ahead of the relocation programs of the 1950s and 1960s.[32] *Native Students at Work* pushes forward the study of indigenous mobility by offering detailed portraits of these earlier migrations. In so doing, this work joins scholars who question the notion that the years between 1880 and 1945 saw Native communities trapped within the boundaries of reservations and the walls of boarding schools, isolated from the currents of modernity.[33] Outing narratives uncover stories of Native people moving rapidly through time and space to engage in wage labor alongside migrants from across the globe, and they demonstrate how Native people engaged with, and in some cases mastered, a massive and complex bureaucracy in order to successfully make those journeys. These developments have important theoretical implications for the study of Native America during the Reservation Era, which often unfolds within the hermetically sealed boundaries of reservations and equates engagement with federal programs with the perpetuation of isolation and poverty. At times, Native people used government bureaucracies to move beyond the boundaries of reservations, to find housing and jobs in urban areas. In so doing they subverted the aims of programs that looked to erase their cultures. Examining indigenous mobility and agency within the outing program offers a model for reevaluating broader relationships between Native peoples and the federal government in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and moving beyond portrayals of universal poverty and isolation.

The better part of a century has passed since Native people navigated the outing system in Southern California, leaving little possibility for oral interviews with participants. As such, most of the Native voices in these pages speak from archival sources. While I have consulted the Native community that exists around Sherman Institute today and interviewed descendants of outing laborers, I have not been able to contact and solicit feedback from the descendants of the majority of the workers about whom I write. I use pseudonyms in place of actual names to protect the privacy of students and their families in cases

involving violence, sexual vulnerability, and ill health. In most cases, however, I have elected to use the real names of the Native people who navigated outing in Southern California. I do this to avoid replicating the erasure of Native communities and identities that rested at the heart of the assimilationist agenda that gave birth to the outing system.[34]

In Southern California, Native people in the outing system encountered a labor market that cried out for more workers and a white, Protestant majority that feared and loathed those unlike themselves. Throughout much of California dry, hot summers and cool, wet winters provided an ideal setting for large-scale, intensive agriculture, with large swaths of land devoted to one crop. Between 1880 and 1930 the Golden State quickly became the largest provider of fruit to the rest of the United States. As growers undertook a never-ending search for cheap labor, they faced an important question: how to find workers who could be exploited but would also prove acceptable to the white, Protestant people who increasingly populated California's cities and towns.[35]

As large-scale agriculture found its footing in California during the second half of the nineteenth century, growers relied first on single, white males, known as "bindle stiffs," for labor. From the mid-nineteenth century onward, Chinese workers congregated in large numbers in the mining towns of California, as well as large cities such as San Francisco. During the 1860s fellow miners coordinated violent attacks against Chinese workers. Convinced the Chinese would drive down wages and depress the economy by refusing to spend what money they earned, trade unions in San Francisco organized successful campaigns to drive them out of the city. Banished from mines and towns of Northern California, Chinese workers became the largest and cheapest source of labor for California's large agricultural operations. Though they remained the targets of racist violence and anti-immigrant campaigns throughout the closing decades of the nineteenth century, they formed the backbone of California's agricultural workforce—even after the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 prevented Chinese immigrants from entering the United States.[36]

When federal legislation cut off the flow of Chinese workers into California, growers turned next to Japanese workers. Many Japanese people had cultural knowledge of agriculture and irrigation, and they proved adept at turning dry plots into productive farmland—so adept, in fact, that many Japanese families saved enough money to purchase land of their own. By 1910, Japanese farmers had gained control of almost all the leasable land in the lucrative Central Valley. Angered and threatened by Japanese prosperity, the white, Protestant majority in California turned its wrath on yet another ethnic group. In 1913,

California enacted the Alien Land Law, which prohibited landownership among noncitizens. While the new legislation barred from landownership other groups considered nonwhite, especially California's increasingly prominent population of Sikhs, it aimed primarily to stamp out the success of Japanese growers. Like the Chinese before them, the Japanese farm workers of California were being driven out of business.[37] California growers looked again for new ethnic groups to work their fields. They contracted with labor agents, or *padrones*, who brought in immigrant workers from India, Mexico, Portugal, and Armenia, among other countries. While farm operators found new workers, they could not stop the rising tide of anti-immigration racism in California and the United States.[38]

California was not alone in its fury against newcomers. Anti-immigration fervor reached its peak in 1924, when the U.S. Congress passed legislation that effectively eliminated legal immigration from countries outside of Northern and Western Europe.[39] From 1924 onward Mexicans filled the void left by Chinese and Japanese workers. In the mid-1920s, growers in the Imperial and San Joaquin valleys began busing in Mexican laborers by the tens of thousands. When the growing season concluded, they often sent the workers back to Mexico. Like their Chinese and Japanese predecessors, Mexican farm workers faced terrible working conditions and endemic racism on the factory farms of California, and intense labor strife characterized California agriculture in the 1920s and 1930s. After the onset of the Great Depression, officials from the State of California rounded up people of Mexican heritage, many of them U.S. citizens, and deported them to Mexico. In 1931, state officials deported seventy-five thousand people from Los Angeles alone. Historian Carey McWilliams captured the essence of the attitude toward Mexican workers with a single quote, one allegedly spoken from a farm owner to a migrant worker: "When we want you, we'll call you. When we don't—git."[40]

Racism toward nonwhite Californians also deeply affected those residing in cities. Officials in Los Angeles blamed difficult living conditions among the city's Asian and Latino populations on racial deficiencies rather than poverty. Driven by what historian Natalia Molina has described as "a widespread perception that immigrants threatened the health of the nation in both a real and metaphorical sense," public health officials used ordinances to manipulate and control nonwhite people in Los Angeles. Historian Mark Wild has noted that public health campaigns fit into broader cycles in which industry leaders and civic officials worked at different times to segregate or assimilate nonwhite Angelenos. Whether they worked on industrial farms or in the wealthy white

homes of Los Angeles, then, Native people in the outing system entered a world awash in racism toward nonwhite people.[41]

It is tempting to imagine Native workers from Sherman Institute and reservation agencies as an overlooked wave of laborers that can be examined within the historical frameworks of immigration and wage labor that have been established for other ethnic groups in California. The reality is more nuanced. From the time of contact with non-Native people, many indigenous groups in California worked for and alongside newcomers, whether at missions and rancherias, in cities and towns, or on the large-scale farms that came to characterize California agriculture during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some groups, such as the Navajos, used outing as a point of entry into wage labor markets in Southern California. Among many indigenous communities in the Southwest, however, outing systems did not bring first contact with the wage labor markets of Southern California. For these people, outing became a new window into wage labor markets that had long been a part of family and community lives.

Native workers in the outing system found themselves entangled with the federal government in far different ways than workers from other ethnic groups. Chinese, Japanese, Latino, and other nonwhite workers in California faced systematic legal exclusion, which began with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and reached a crescendo with the Immigration Act of 1924. In contrast, Native people in the outing system dealt with a federal government that sought to systematically *include* them within the body politic of the United States, in large part to abrogate expensive treaty obligations. In 1924, just as Congress closed the country's doors to immigrants, it gave citizenship to all American Indians.[42] While Native people who used the outing system to access wage labor opportunities undoubtedly experienced racism as they lived and worked among myriad ethnicities in the fields of Southern California, they faced a unique set of legal and political circumstances that made their experiences different from those of immigrant workers from other groups.

The relatively small numbers of Native laborers in California and their proximity to reservation homelands also made for working lives that differed significantly from the experiences of workers of Asian, European, and Mexican descent. Native workers inside and outside of the outing system formed a relatively small percentage of the population in California. During the first three decades of the twentieth century, the outing system at Sherman Institute placed over one thousand Native workers into white-owned businesses and households in Southern California—enough people to profoundly affect

many tribal communities, but not enough to make a deep impact on the large-scale wage labor economy of California. To be sure, indigenous communities constituted significant portions of working populations near some reservations. On a broader scale, however, Native people in California never formed a cross-section of workers that could compare with other ethnic groups working in California. Native workers in the American Southwest often managed to maintain deep ties to their communities by traveling home to visit families and participate in ceremonies—a significant difference from the experiences of European and Asian laborers, who often intended to return home but could not always afford to do so. These factors made Native wage labor experiences unique. As such, *Native Students at Work* does not attempt to move Native communities to the center of the histories of California labor and agriculture. Instead it examines the experiences of Native people who integrated outing systems into their family and community lives, with a special eye toward how these labor narratives enrich our understanding of Native experiences.

By the time students began forming measured approaches to the outing system at Sherman Institute and in Los Angeles, indigenous communities in North America had dealt with attempts at assimilation and uplift via labor for as long as four centuries. Roman Catholic orders established missions in California as early as 1512. Mission fathers worked to separate young indigenous people, whom they referred to as "neophytes," from their communities in order to make them more like Spanish Catholic newcomers.[43] In a precursor to the federal Indian boarding schools of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, life within the walls of the missions revolved around labor. The lives of Native people within the missions were characterized by regimented, time-oriented work schedules, spatial confinement, and constant surveillance by church officials, and Indian labor powered nearly every facet of mission society. Indigenous people worked as shoe and harness makers, weavers, tailors, soap makers, masons, carpenters, shepherds, and agricultural laborers, among other jobs. The price of supposed salvation, it seems, was steep.[44]

On the eastern side of North America colonists from France and Great Britain also engaged in efforts to Christianize and "civilize" indigenous peoples. In the Northeast, Puritan missionary John Eliot learned to preach in Algonquian languages and created "Praying Towns" for Native people who showed interest in Christianity. Eliot and other missionaries also built day schools for the education of indigenous peoples, although these schools bore little resemblance to those the Office of Indian Affairs would operate in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Farther south, Anglican missionaries made fleeting

efforts to educate indigenous peoples of the Chesapeake and Tidewater regions, and Methodists and Moravians worked among tribes in Georgia and the Carolinas. Small numbers of Native people attended colleges in the colonies, including William and Mary, Dartmouth, and Harvard.[45] While the form and function of efforts at Christianization of indigenous peoples in the eastern colonies differed by region, all shared a pair of common goals: to get Native people to demonstrate outward signs of salvation and to send converted Indians to proselytize among their people. Eurocentric forms of labor rested at the heart of these efforts. Only when indigenous people adopted Christianity in tandem with trades and vocations familiar to settlers, especially farming, would they truly become "civilized."[46]

Newcomers who worked to teach Native people the virtues of European-derived forms of worship and work failed to acknowledge that, like people from all cultures, the vast array of American Indians in the United States had well-established cultural practices of education and labor. Historian J. R. Miller has argued that indigenous communities in North America educated their children for two primary purposes: to teach them how to organize the world and learn their place within it, and to teach them the skills necessary to become a contributing member of their community.[47] It is dangerous to generalize about education and labor practices among the myriad indigenous peoples of North America. But, as Miller noted, one can make some cautious observations about broad differences between styles of learning and working among Natives and newcomers without doing violence to the former.[48]

One of the significant differences between indigenous and white systems of learning and working centered on style and context of instruction. Many Native communities relied less on formal, didactic instruction and more on context-based, observational learning.[49] As a general rule, young children quietly observed older people as they completed labor tasks in a process Miller has called "the three Ls": looking, listening, and learning. Games played by young children often mimicked these work activities. Once a child reached puberty, he or she began receiving more formal instruction. Teaching often relied on repetitive, experiential processes combined with gentle instruction. Direct, verbal confrontation from teacher to student took place much more rarely than in the didactic systems practiced by many European cultures. Orally transmitted stories, and the languages in which they were told, played critical roles within education throughout indigenous America, as they preserved and transferred ethical, theological, historical, ecological, and political information. Trafzer, Sakiestewa Gilbert, and Sisquoc have found common elements within the

transmission of oral histories. In Palouse and Nez Perce communities, for example, elders recited stories to younger tribal members. Storytellers would then ask one of their listeners to repeat the story. After correcting mistakes in the recitation and making sure that the young person understood the error, elders would ask for another recitation, and so on. By this kind of thorough but sensitive pedagogical practice indigenous communities transmitted laws, mores, and religious practices to their young people.[50]

Indigenous communities carefully constructed and maintained systems by which they transmitted knowledge and work skills. For officials in Indian affairs, transforming indigenous ways of learning and working moved to the heart of efforts to assimilate and displace Native peoples following the American Revolution. As the United States struggled during its fledgling years in its relationships with indigenous peoples, Secretary of War Henry Knox and President Thomas Jefferson laid the ideological foundations that would underpin future attempts to fully immerse Native peoples within the white, Protestant fabric of American life. Teaching Native peoples the tenets of European-style trades and agriculture rested at the heart of their efforts.[51] Faced with growing conflicts between land-hungry whites and indigenous peoples, Knox asserted that the best way to avoid removing Indians would be to "civilize" them. Steeped in the literature of the Enlightenment, he argued that surrounding Indians with the components of yeoman-style agriculture—domesticated animals, farm implements, and wheat—would fundamentally transform indigenous people, preparing them for peaceful coexistence with white Americans. Knox dreamed of white missionaries venturing among tribes to serve as educators as well as "friends and fathers." Once Indians possessed the tools of European-style farming, Knox asserted, they would surely abandon tribal cultures in favor of the ethos of private property and accumulation of wealth. In transforming the land from wilderness into farms, Indians themselves would undergo a fundamental change from savagery to civilization.[52]

Much like Knox, Jefferson sought to assimilate Native peoples to free up land for white settlers. "Humanity enjoins us," he declared, "to teach [Native Americans] agriculture and the domestic arts."[53] Like Knox, he argued that the Indian capacity for change could be accelerated through European-style labor, especially yeoman farming. Jefferson preached an almost radical belief in the transformative power of the environment, even proclaiming that engagement in single-crop agriculture would whiten the skin of Indian people.[54] The Indian Civilization Act of 1819 codified into law the formal propagation of Christianity and vocational labor among indigenous peoples. Alongside Indian agents, the U.S. government sent missionaries and schoolteachers to teach Christianity,

agriculture, and basic vocations such as blacksmithing. Under the purview of the bill, Congress authorized funding for twenty-one boarding schools to be operated by Christian missionaries. As the young republic expanded westward across the North American continent, transforming indigenous ways of working became enshrined within official policy.[55]

Not all shared the confidence of Knox and Jefferson in the ability of Native people to participate in white, Protestant society. Under the direction of President Andrew Jackson, the federal government abandoned intentions to educate and Christianize Native peoples of the Southeast and removed tribes to the West beginning in 1830. In the years following the Civil War, vocational education for Native people returned to prominence under the so-called Peace Policy, a set of policies put in place by President Ulysses S. Grant that focused especially on moving indigenous communities onto reservations. Congress allocated $100,000 for Indian education in 1870, and it supplied a growing pool of money for the assimilation and "uplift" of indigenous peoples for the next five decades. Looking to clean up the greed and graft that had characterized Indian affairs in the years preceding his term, Grant hired representatives from each of the major Christian denominations—people he thought were sure to adhere to the highest moral standards—to serve as Indian agents.[56] Beginning in 1873 these agents oversaw the rapid construction and staffing of day schools across Indian country. Officials from the Office of Indian Affairs built these schools close to indigenous settlements so that children could attend class during the day and return to their families at night. Teachers emphasized the skills that had remained at the heart of government efforts to educate Indians since the days of Knox and Jefferson: basic literacy, farming, and vocations such as carpentry and blacksmithing. As the relationships between tribes and the federal government shifted during the late nineteenth century, the desire of federal officials to place Eurocentric forms of labor at the center of Indian-white relations remained almost constant.[57]

During the last three decades of the nineteenth century, Capt. Richard Henry Pratt brought the perceived relationship between labor and "uplift" to the center of efforts to solve the so-called Indian problem. A cavalry officer and veteran of the Civil War, Pratt began his experiment with "uplift" through labor at Fort Marion in St. Petersburg, Florida, where he supervised a group of Cheyenne, Kiowa, Comanche, Arapahoe, and Caddo prisoners from 1875 until 1878. Pratt used labor as a means to expose his captives to the acquisitive, individualistic values of capitalism.[58] The men polished sea beans and sold them to tourists, and they also worked for area citrus, railroad, and timber companies.[59]

In 1878 Pratt accompanied sixteen of his prisoners north to Hampton Institute, a school for black freedmen that counted Booker T. Washington among its alumni. At Hampton, labor remained the unifying thread within his efforts to eradicate the indigenous languages and identities of the Native people under his watch. Alongside Gen. Samuel Armstrong, Pratt created the first version of the outing system, which sent Native students from Hampton to live and work with white, Protestant farmers in western Massachusetts. A philosophical environmentalist in the mold of Jefferson and Knox, Pratt argued that this kind of immersion would accelerate the process by which Native student laborers would shed their tribal identities and embrace the language and worldview of the dominant, white population.[60]

Less than a year after he arrived at Hampton, Pratt secured funding from the War Department to take his charges north to Pennsylvania. There, he founded the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, the first federally funded, off-reservation boarding school for American Indians. At Carlisle, Pratt made the outing system a centerpiece of the educational curriculum. Again he sought to place his students on small, family-operated farms. "Good country homes," he said, would help young Indians "break away from the tribal commune" and "go out among our people and contend for the necessities and luxuries of life." Most students finished with academic work in late May and worked out for the summer, returning for classes in the fall. A smaller group remained on outing for the entire year. Pratt required that these students attend a local public school and perform their labor after school and on weekends. Under the watchful eyes of virtuous yeomen, Carlisle students could abandon indigenous cultures and abide by what Pratt saw as the hallmarks of American "civilization": Christianity, the English language, and a love of manual labor.[61]

In 1887, Pratt's plan for assimilation became part of a two-pronged strategy run by the federal government in hopes of eliminating indigenous cultures, languages, and identities once and for all. In that year Senator Henry Dawes of Massachusetts pushed through Congress a grand plan to divide reservation lands into individual holdings. The result of a six-year effort among a small but influential group of congressional progressives, the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 set forth a vague set of directives that aimed to "civilize" indigenous people by placing them on individually owned plots of land. Allotment would occur at different times for different tribes—whenever the president concluded that a given tribe had been adequately prepared for the demands of owning land as private property. Once an allotment was granted, individual landowners would be unable to sell their parcel for a probationary period of twenty-five years.

Native people would become citizens of the United States upon receipt of their individually owned plots.[62]

As Hoxie has noted, the Dawes Act proved to be more a set of ideas than a hard and fast set of legislative edicts. It meant different things to different people. For progressive reformers, individual landownership and the curricula of Indian schools would form a potent one-two punch that would help indigenous peoples to more rapidly shed their cultural identities and blend into the white, Protestant majority of the United States. Others saw the new law as an opportunity to finally pull Indians away from their perceived reliance upon the treaty annuities that tribes had received in return for giving up land and resources.[63] For many settlers and their political representatives, the Dawes Act presented opportunities to dispossess Indians and privatize reservation lands. They took advantage of the malleable language in the bill, adding riders and amendments that abrogated the twenty-five-year probationary period and allowed Native land holders to sell their plots when they found themselves in dire need of cash. On many reservations, settlers and speculators brought about rapid dispossession of land and resources in the decades following the passage of the Dawes Act. Scheming politicians and land-hungry settlers threatened the dovetailing policies of Dawes and Pratt. Forces beyond the realm of Indian affairs would soon disrupt these plans even further.[64]

At the turn of the twentieth century the United States came into increasing contact with unfamiliar peoples at home and abroad. To many, it appeared as if the idealized communities of the nineteenth century were being pulled apart at the seams by newcomers from Southern and Eastern Europe, who poured into the United States at an unprecedented rate of close to one million per year. Many Americans responded with what historian John Higham called a "loss of confidence." Where politicians, bureaucrats, and Indian reformers had once been confident in the ability of "savage" peoples to undergo the process of "uplift," they now harbored doubts. Indigenous peoples around the world were suddenly transformed from improvement projects to disappearing vestiges of bygone times.[65]

American Indians did not enjoy immunity from these trends, as legislators and bureaucrats in the United States lost faith in the idea of assimilation and equal participation in American society for indigenous peoples.[66] During the first decade of the twentieth century, for example, Superintendent of Indian Schools Estelle Reel declared that boarding schools should skip pedantry such as "the chemical and physical properties of matter" in favor of teaching young Indians to cook, sew, and do laundry.[67] "The importance of holding the work

strictly within practical lines," dictated Reel, "can not be too strongly impressed upon the instructor."[68] In the Office of Indian Affairs, high hopes for the assimilation of Native peoples had faded quickly. As Pratt's outing system spread to Indian schools across the West, an increasingly negative outlook for the future of Native peoples brewed within the circles of legislators and reformers who held sway within Indian affairs.[69]

With the drastic downturn in expectations for Native peoples, outing programs dropped pretensions of educational value, essentially functioning as a series of glorified labor agencies. In its earliest forms, outing had been implemented in conjunction with curricula as a "supreme Americanizer" that supplemented classroom learning and vocational practice with experience living and working in the midst of white, Protestant people. By the early twentieth century outing focused less on uplift and more on satiating the desires of white households and businesses for Native laborers. In the eyes of officials from the Office of Indian Affairs, the menial labor of outing work became a terminal destination for Native people rather than a brief stop along a path toward assimilation into the dominant white society.

After a generation of interaction with the federal government, many indigenous communities had become experts in bureaucracy. They would respond creatively to efforts to control and remold their identities through labor, even as federal labor programs aimed increasingly to funnel young Native people to the bottom of a racialized working class. Many communities would eventually integrate outing programs into patchworks of migration and work in order to combat the rise of artificially depressed reservation economies. At the turn of the twentieth century, however, most indigenous groups in the western United States had yet to experience outing. In Southern California, Sherman Institute became the first point of entry for Native people into outing labor.

CHAPTER 1

Labored Learning

The Outing System at Sherman Institute

SHERMAN INSTITUTE OPENED ITS DOORS IN RIVERSIDE, CALIFORNIA, in the fall of 1902. Visions of cheap Native labor helped to make it so. The school opened eight years earlier in Perris, California. Citing a lack of drinking water and a desire to move his students to a more urban environment, Superintendent Harwood Hall pushed to move the Perris Indian School to Riverside, sixteen miles north. Tantalized by the prospect of an influx of federal money, boosters in Riverside lobbied Washington in support of a new Indian school. Frank Miller, owner of the Glenwood Hotel in downtown Riverside (later renamed the Mission Inn), led the charge. The combined efforts of Hall and Miller proved successful, and construction of the new school began in 1900, with the last few students transferring from Perris to Sherman in the spring of 1904.[1]

More than bad drinking water and the promise of federal dollars paved the way from Perris to Riverside. As Hall gathered support among affluent community members in Riverside, he sought to demonstrate that a new Indian school would provide easy access to a pool of cheap, pliable laborers. In the years leading up to the relocation, he shifted the balance of the school's outing laborers from Perris and Redlands to Riverside. Hoping to build support for a new Indian school, he flooded the citrus-laden neighborhoods of downtown Riverside with low-wage domestic workers.

Fifteen years as a superintendent in schools of the Office of Indian Affairs provided Hall with the political acumen necessary for the move from Perris to Riverside. Born in New Jersey in 1859, Hall began his career in the Indian Service as superintendent of the Seneca Boarding School in Wyandotte, Oklahoma. He made stops at the Pine Ridge and Cheyenne and Arapaho agencies before becoming superintendent of the Phoenix Indian School in 1893, finally landing at the Perris Indian School in 1897. As he pushed to move his school to

Riverside, Hall quickly gained support from Frank Miller and other influential Southern Californians, including Indian reformer Albert K. Smiley and railroad tycoon Collis P. Huntington.[2]

Miller served as head lobbyist for Hall's relocation plan. In return he received a steady flow of student laborers at his home and his hotel. As Hall sent domestic workers from the Perris school into Riverside, he used Miller to vouch for the character of prospective employers, with many employers communicating only with Miller as they secured their workers. Hall and Miller bonded over shared roots in the Quaker Church, and on many Sundays they sat together for services. The budding partnership meant that whenever Miller requested a student laborer for a friend or family member, Hall quickly obliged. Hall's message rang clear: those who supported Sherman Institute could expect discount-rate student labor.[3]

As the outing system took root at Sherman Institute, it continued to operate as an employment agency, offering up its students as cheap workers in return for support for the school's move to Riverside. Far from home, students endured dangerous, isolated working conditions, and they made relatively little money. Yet many students managed to mitigate the most negative aspects of the outing system in ways both subtle and overt. Employing what theorist James C. Scott has called "the weapons of the weak," these students used an array of strategies to resist the demands of overbearing employers that ranged from feigning a lack of comprehension to running away from their jobs.[4] At least a few students managed to parlay outing experiences into skills that proved useful later in life. Working in the households, businesses, and farms of Riverside and Southern California, they became the forerunners in a broader trend in which Native people from across the American Southwest used outing programs to access wage labor markets and gain new skills and perspectives. A deep look at the outing program at Sherman Institute as it functioned in and around Riverside reveals a complicated story, one that saw limited expectations and the significant risks of isolated, menial labor set against the lures of money, adventure, and, for some, significant work experience.

Two decades before the opening of Sherman Institute, Richard Henry Pratt advocated wholeheartedly for the "uplifting" benefits of the outing system as he implemented it among the yeomen of western Massachusetts and the Quakers of Pennsylvania. He had doubts, however, about prospects for outing at boarding schools in the western United States. A philosophical environmentalist in the mold of Thomas Jefferson, Pratt believed that one's surroundings affected the development of one's physical and mental characteristics. For Pratt, then,

the American West, only a generation removed from initial white settlement, was no place to attempt to civilize young people. Labor-starved factory and farm owners compounded the "uncivilized" state of affairs. Those who hired Native laborers via the outing system would likely have more interest in securing cheap labor than aiding in the process of uplift. Lamenting that the West lacked the "refined environment and personal touch" of the genteel East, Pratt warned that any attempt to implement outing in the West would almost surely end in "flat failure."[5]

Pratt's warnings proved prescient. As Hall used cheap student labor to cultivate support for a federal Indian school in Riverside, he followed the lead of Wellington Rich, the man he had succeeded as superintendent of the Phoenix Indian School. Hoping to move his school from a remote desert location into the heart of Phoenix, Rich lobbied local ranchers and businessmen. In large, town hall–style meetings he loudly asserted that the construction of an Indian school in Phoenix would bring abundant, "cheap and efficient labor" to area cotton and citrus growers. The citizens of Phoenix took the bait. Local newspapermen proclaimed that the presence of Native laborers would be a boon to the local economy, going so far as to claim that indigenous people were better suited than "the Mexican" for working in the sun. The people of Phoenix hastily built an Indian school, largely on the wings of visions of cheap, Native labor.[6]

Hall took over at Phoenix in 1894 and proclaimed that the outing system would serve as an employment agency rather than a means to promote equality between American Indian peoples and whites. He left little doubt that on his watch, the outing system would center on the provision of cheap labor to white Phoenicians rather than any sort of education for Native participants. "The school," he wrote, "can thus serve as an employment agency, whereby the deserving Indian pupil can secure employment as soon as qualified." Arguing that Phoenicians would not view student labor "from a philanthropic standpoint," Hall proclaimed that outing in Phoenix would be "simply a matter of business." The moral and intellectual development of students, so cherished by Pratt, took a back seat to providing cheap labor for white businesses and households.[7]

As the outing system expanded at the Phoenix school, it focused mostly on providing domestic workers to well-off, white Phoenicians. In 1896, Hall sent nearly two hundred young women to work in white homes within the city. His successor, Samuel McCowan, took over as superintendent in 1897, and he expressed disapproval of what would eventually become the primary shortcomings of the outing system in Southern California: the families for which outing workers labored "care nothing for them except for the work they can get from

them," and the outing system as it had functioned under Hall "lacked careful supervision" of domestic workers. Outing, declared McCowan, was "more of a curse than a blessing" to the young women it claimed to uplift.[8]

In an attempt to give at least some supervision to women working on his watch, McCowan lobbied the Office of Indian Affairs to hire an outing matron. From 1900 onward a series of these matrons gave some protection to young women who worked as domestics in Phoenix. This did little to change the fundamental nature of the program, however, and the outing system at the Phoenix Indian School continued to function as a labor source for households and businesses into the twentieth century. By the 1920s the program had almost ceased to work with students, as the outing matron focused instead on matching older Pima and Tohono O'odham women with employers in the city. If Pratt's fingerprints had ever been on the outing system in Phoenix, they were no longer present.[9]

The growth of outing at the Phoenix Indian School represented a few broader trends within the development of outing systems at boarding schools nationwide. For example, gender roles had shifted at Phoenix. Pratt imagined outing as a means to prepare young men to work and provide for nuclear families, while women could learn to keep house by assisting farm wives. But employer demand had changed the program, as Native maids became a popular symbol of affluence among the well-heeled of Phoenix. The growth of outing at Sherman also came amid a larger push by the Indian Office to establish outing programs at all of the off-reservation boarding schools in the western United States as a means to instill within Native people "the customs and industries of civilized life while acquiring the habits of self-support and economy." As outing programs spread to boarding schools throughout the West, other schools followed the Phoenix Indian School by focusing primarily on supplying young women to work as domestics in white homes. These locations included Sherman Institute, Haskell Institute, the Genoa Industrial School, and the Fort Mojave School in Fort Mojave, Arizona.[10]

Sherman Institute would focus its outing program on sending young women out to work through the first decade of the twentieth century. Between ten and twenty girls worked each year, and the program generally operated only from June through August. Once placed into homes, the young women performed a variety of tasks, depending upon their age. The youngest girls, usually between ten and twelve years of age, normally served as "nurses," or babysitters, to younger children. Older girls took on a host of other responsibilities, including laundry, cleaning, and washing dishes. The oldest, most experienced

women prepared meals.[11] Domestic workers from Sherman worked steadily and with one family throughout the course of the summer, returning to school by the start of September. A select few students lived and worked in the outing program all year. Following the year-round outing template set by Pratt, Hall required these students to attend at least eighty days of classes at the nearest public school. Rather than being paid for their work, year-round outing students attended class during the week and worked for room and board on the weekends.[12] Hall also sent limited numbers of young men to work on area farms. The most common tasks included threshing hay and harvesting and packing citrus, and most young men worked no more than a few weeks at a time. All student laborers, male and female, year-round and seasonal, had the cost of meals deducted from their final paycheck.[13]

Discount prices were probably the biggest selling point for the program. At the turn of the twentieth century, the average domestic worker in the United States earned around thirteen dollars per month, with maids on the West Coast earning slightly more because of the scant availability of workers. During the earliest years of the outing system in Riverside, employers hired younger female students, usually between the ages of ten and thirteen, for as little as one dollar a month. The oldest, most expensive students cost no more than ten dollars a month. Wages rose slightly during the first decade of the twentieth century. By 1907 inexperienced domestic workers could expect twelve dollars per month, and veterans of the outing system earned as much as twenty dollars.[14] In 2013 dollars, this would equal three hundred dollars per month for an inexperienced worker and five hundred dollars per month for an experienced one.[15] These wages may seem low, but female student laborers actually held higher ground than their male counterparts during the early years of the outing system at Sherman Institute. Although he meticulously determined wages before sending young women out to work, Hall rarely negotiated wages for his male students. Replying to an inquiry about expected wages for a male student to do ranch work, Hall cavalierly told the potential employer that he could "take the young man and pay him whatever he is worth." During Hall's tenure most male outing employees earned between one and three dollars per day, though they worked far less than their female counterparts.[16]

Hall's successor, Frank Conser, would hire multiple employees as outing agents to arrange jobs for students, provide minimal supervision at work sites, and keep track of wages owed and paid to student laborers. While Hall presided over Sherman Institute, he stacked these tasks on top of his already heaping pile of daily responsibilities. He had neither the time nor the money to keep

FIG 1.1. Sherman Institute Superintendent Harwood Hall, n.d. Photo courtesy of the National Archives Personnel Records Center, St. Louis, MO.

any records on the outing program, let alone track the conditions of students. The lack of an employee to watch after outing laborers meant that workers often found themselves in vulnerable positions with little promise of assistance. Those who experienced problems in the early years could expect little more than a letter from Hall, encouraging them to continue working.

From the beginning of his time in Riverside, Hall made clear that Sherman's outing program would function as an employment agency. Correspondences between Hall and the recipients of student labor often read more like exchanges between a salesman and a buyer than communication from a guardian seeking to ensure proper care for his charges. This dynamic became especially apparent

whenever problems arose between student laborers and their employers, as Hall often promised to provide replacements for workers deemed unsatisfactory by patrons. Two weeks after receiving a male student laborer to help with baling hay, rancher S. S. Hotchkiss wrote to Hall to express his dissatisfaction. The boy, it seemed, had little experience with horses, making plowing difficult. Hall responded promptly and apologetically, promising to replace him with "a capable worker who understands horses." Hall also switched female student laborers from house to house in order to mollify angry employers. When sending out final notification to families who had been selected to receive female student laborers, he assured them that he would be happy to send another student if the first one did not work out. "Of course if the girl is not satisfactory," he wrote repeatedly, "you may return her at once."[17]

Hall promised total control of student laborers to families and businesses taking on outing students. He tantalized S. R. Smith, who requested two boys to work on his ranch: "They are accustomed to taking orders, and will come to you with that understanding—not only in work, but in general conduct as well." Perhaps concerned that Smith might be dense, Hall rounded out his letter by making explicit the degree of power that patrons of the outing system held over student laborers: "I am sure that such cannot be objectionable, as it will only make their services more valuable to you."[18]

Hall offered recipients of student laborers the chance to ship their charges to and fro in order to perform labor for friends, family, or nearby businesses. Almost without fail, he permitted employers to "loan" student laborers to friends and family in need of an extra hand, sometimes for a weekend, sometimes for months. In April 1901, for example, George Winterbothem asked Hall for permission to lend the services of Mary Barker to the Hillegas family. Hall responded with characteristic nonchalance, "I have to state that I have no objection to the matter. Please explain the matter to Mary, and let Mrs. Hillegas know regarding the girls [*sic*] disposition. Kindly advise me what day she goes to the home of Mrs. Hillegas." Neither Hall nor Winterbothem solicited the wishes of Barker before they shipped her off.[19]

Young men in the outing system confronted a different set of challenges. Upon arrival at ranches and farms of the Inland Empire and the Imperial Valley, they faced conditions that could not be even loosely connected to the stated goal of the outing system to uplift young Indian men by contact with white families and business owners. Hall likely knew as much, as ranchers often requested that male student laborers come with bedding to sleep outdoors or in rudimentary tents and lean-tos provided by employers.[20] When the Riverside

Orange Company asked Hall to send bedding with his workers so that they could sleep outside, he gave a perfunctory defense that focused more on the safety of government property than on the well-being of his students: "I regret to say that I am not authorized to allow any of the government bedding to leave [Sherman Institute]. Consequently will not send the boys until I hear from you further."[21] One week later he dispatched a group of boys to Riverside Orange Company. How long they remained and what conditions they faced went undocumented. Nonetheless, Riverside Orange Company surely had more interest in extracting cheap labor than in preparing young Indian men for equal participation within the white, Protestant mainstream.

If Hall paid relatively little attention to where male student laborers worked or how much they were paid, he gave more notice to the whereabouts and health of his female students. Before sending female student laborers out during late May, he corresponded extensively with prospective patrons. He used this correspondence to determine which families would be most fit to receive student laborers and, among those chosen, to figure out which girl would be best suited for each household. Hall kept no rosters of outing students, making it impossible to decipher the exact ratio of male to female student laborers during his tenure. However, correspondence between Hall and recipients of student labor reveals that more female than male laborers participated in outing. This gender imbalance may at least partly explain his more careful tracking of young women.[22]

Although Hall left no explicit evidence as to why he preferred to use girls in the outing system, he provided at least a few clues. He likely needed to keep at least some male students at Sherman throughout the summer in order to provide crucial labor and upkeep at the school. Classes ended by June 1, but the physical plant and the school farm required year-round maintenance.[23] Hall's experience with the outing system at the Phoenix Indian School also likely shaped his approach in Southern California, first at Perris and then at Riverside. As Robert Trennert noted, obtaining domestic help from young Native women had come into vogue among the residents of Phoenix by the time Hall finished his tenure at the Phoenix Indian School in 1897. Male students proved to be a different story, as Hall struggled to place young men on area citrus and cotton farms in Arizona.[24] By sending out mostly girls, Hall gave Southern Californians what he was sure they wanted. Moreover, he held up female students as superior representatives of Sherman Institute compared to their male counterparts, arguing that they were "quite neat in their work as well as in their person" and more likely to "reflect credit on their school and their race." Male students, on

the other hand, worried him. On the rare occasion that Hall sent a male student out to work, he did so only after sending extensive instructions regarding discipline and control.[25]

Hall clearly trusted young women more than young men. Still, his approach to sending female students out to work was shaped by a potent blend of Victorian gender ideals and racial assumptions. He went to great lengths to protect Sherman girls from what he perceived as their sexual proclivities. As he prepared to send a female student laborer to work in a downtown Riverside home, he gave explicit instructions on how to best cloister her. "Under no conditions permit her to be out evenings," he warned, unless the girl would be accompanied by "yourself or other responsible persons." In years past, Hall explained, outing hosts had let their charges "run around considerable," allowing domestic workers to congregate away from the watchful eyes of white adults.[26]

When employers provided anything less than constant surveillance of their charges, Hall stepped in swiftly. In June 1902 he learned that the Sharpe family of Riverside had allowed one of his students, Manuella Pakil, too much freedom: "It has been reported to me that Manuella Pakil is frequently seen at the street railway park in company with girls whose reputations are said to be not good and also with young Indian boys or Mexicans, and that in one or two instances the young men were partially intoxicated and deported themselves unseemly. It seems that Manuella is at the park a great deal and often times late in the afternoon when it is particularly dark." Hall wasted no time in calling Pakil back to school. "While I regret to discommode you," he told the Sharpes, "my duty prompts me to recall her."[27]

Hall's political maneuverings in Phoenix and Riverside reveal a deep-seated ethnocentrism toward indigenous peoples, but historian Jean Keller has noted that many students and staff at Sherman Institute regarded Hall as a warm, caring man. A career educator, he often surpassed his fellow boarding school superintendents in demonstrating concern for his charges.[28] Yet if Hall clearly cared for the health and well-being of his students, the way he operated the outing system suggests that he did not have much faith in their intellectual capabilities. If the outing system would bring Native people what Hall called "the influences gained by contact with higher civilization," it also funneled young Indians into jobs that would never uplift them from their supposed positions at the bottom of the hierarchy of civilization: baling hay, picking fruit, and keeping house.[29] Hall believed in a different sort of assimilation than the version Pratt had dreamed of thirty years earlier. While indigenous people might very well assimilate into the dominant white, Protestant culture of the United States, they

would do so as nurses for white children, cooks and maids for white families, wage laborers on white farms. Pratt created the outing system as a vehicle to propel Indians onto equal footing with white Americans. Hall, on the other hand, used outing as a means to prepare students for a second-class existence. Although the size and the gender balance of the outing program would change dramatically following Hall's departure, this underlying tenet remained in place under his successor.[30]

Frank Conser became the second superintendent of Sherman Institute in April 1909. Before coming to Sherman he had worked as chief clerk for the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C.[31] A clerk by training and disposition, the detail-oriented Conser paid more attention to the whereabouts and conditions of student laborers than did his predecessor. He required employers of Sherman students to send in weekly and monthly timecards. Although the outing system maintained the same look and feel as it did under Hall, Superintendent Conser expanded it significantly and sought more male participation. Ranchers and farmers in the Inland Empire and Imperial Valley proved eager to utilize male student laborers from Sherman Institute, and by 1914 more males than females participated in program.[32] The vast majority of male students working under the outing system toiled as laborers on ranches and farms, and a few students worked as engineers, printers, and carpenters. When classes ended, usually in mid-May, farmers and ranchers who wished to employ male students came to Sherman Institute to pick up their workers.[33]

Conser also hired an outing agent to supervise young men in the outing system and an outing matron to watch over young women. By all accounts these employees genuinely cared for the workers under their watch. They worked hard to ensure the safety of outing laborers and track the wages owed to them by their employers. But despite the efforts of the outing agent and outing matron, the growth of the outing program, both in numbers and in the geographical area covered by its workers, meant that most student laborers were left to fend for themselves as they lived and labored beyond the walls of Sherman Institute.

Hired in 1909, Orrington Jewett became the first outing matron at Sherman.[34] Between September and May of her first year on the job she supervised twenty-six young women who worked full time in the outing system. Twenty-four of them worked in Riverside, and two held positions in Los Angeles. During the summer of 1910 the number of women working in the outing system swelled to over fifty, with most stationed in Riverside and adjacent communities. Additionally, Jewett had responsibility for sixteen

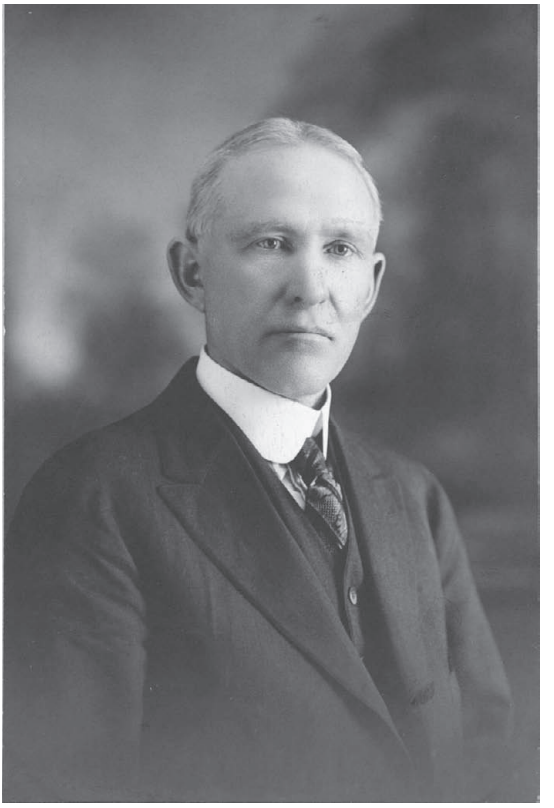


FIG 1.2. Sherman Institute Superintendent Frank Conser. Conser significantly expanded the outing system. A clerk by training, he kept careful records of the whereabouts and earnings of outing laborers. Photo courtesy of the National Archives Personnel Records Center, St. Louis, MO.

women from the Fort Mojave Reservation who lived and worked in Los Angeles.[35]

Jewett became the first of many outing matrons in Southern California to experience the almost constant labor required of the position. During the winter months, the forty-something unmarried woman corresponded with prospective employers and supervised female Sherman students who remained with their employers year-round. At times she served as a sort of surrogate parent, attending recitals and award ceremonies. Heavier work came in the spring, when she interviewed prospective employers and arranged for the travel of domestic workers to and from their work sites. In the summer months, Jewett

remained in constant motion. She answered the letters of concerned parents, forwarded letters from parents to children, and met students at train stations as they traveled to and from their jobs. Beckoned by angry employers and homesick or obstinate student employees, she made house calls almost daily. This work came atop the bookkeeping necessary to keep track of where young women worked and how much money they earned. When employers failed to pay their domestic workers, Jewett visited them to settle their accounts.[36]

Even if the job proved difficult and time consuming, Jewett argued that her work would pave the way for more understanding between indigenous peoples and white newcomers. "Through this work," she wrote, "the whites are learning to know and appreciate the Indian as they could never know them in any other way, and it means an education on both sides and for the general good."[37] Official policy dictated that the outing system would prepare Native people to shed their cultures in favor of white, Protestant ways. For Jewett, however, assimilation would require adjustments from both Native people and the majority culture that received them.

The outing system for women grew steadily under Jewett's direction, from eighty-six women placed in 1909–10 to 177 during the 1917–18 school year. While most came from Sherman Institute, a few migrated to Riverside from the agencies at Fort Mojave, Fort Yuma, and Colorado River to find work. Early on, a handful of women from these agencies worked in Los Angeles under her nominal supervision. Between 1910 and 1918 she placed over one thousand students from Sherman Institute and another five hundred young women from the Fort Mojave, Fort Yuma, and Colorado River agencies who worked in Riverside and Los Angeles.[38]

Jewett left Sherman Institute in 1921 to accept a position with the Los Angeles public schools, and Superintendent Conser hired Etta Long to replace her. Long ran the outing system for women much as her predecessor had, tackling her new position with what Conser termed "unlimited energy."[39] By the summer of 1927 she placed over two hundred students and alumnae of Sherman Institute in households across Southern California. The next summer that number dropped slightly to 150. While the bulk of women in Long's outing system worked in Riverside and the adjacent cities of San Bernardino and Colton, many also worked in Los Angeles, and a few worked as far away as Ventura and San Diego. In 1932, for example, Long had supervisory duties for 108 women, thirty-nine of whom worked in or around Los Angeles. Her duties largely mirrored those of Jewett. In the months leading up to May and the end of classes at Sherman, she worked tirelessly to correspond with potential employers and

FIG 1.3. Sherman Institute Outing Matron Orrington Jewett, n.d. Hired in 1909, Jewett became the first employee at Sherman Institute to devote her full energies to the outing system. Photo courtesy of the National Archives Personnel Records Center, St. Louis, MO.

coordinate with outing matrons in Los Angeles to determine which of her students would work in the city. When classes ended in May, she directed workers to their new employers by escorting them to outgoing trains or driving them in her school-issued car.[40] Long met with domestic workers to help them attend to medical issues, go shopping, or attend recreational activities with other outing employees. These duties came in addition to regular in-home visits to check on the conditions faced by domestic workers on her watch. All of this required significant time on the road. In 1932 and 1933, Long regularly drove between

1,500 and 2,200 miles each month. When not on the road attending to outing workers, she tackled mountains of correspondences. In June 1932 alone, she wrote and received nearly five hundred letters.[41]

Winter months brought a lighter workload for Long, as most students returned for classes at Sherman Institute. Still, supervising those students who worked in the outing system year-round required significant travel.[42] As economic depression depleted the number of jobs available to young women from Sherman Institute during the 1930s, Long devoted more time to searching for prospective jobs and less time supervising those who already worked. She struggled to find enough jobs, and she kept a waiting list for outing positions as early as the spring of 1929.[43] Where the outing matron found positions for over two hundred women during the 1920s, she placed only one hundred women in 1932 and 1933. Slowed by a back injury and arthritic knees, Long retired from the Indian Service in 1939 at the age of fifty-six.[44]

In 1915 Conser promoted Etta Long's husband, Fred Long, from school carpenter to boys' outing agent. This move provided nominal supervision to the rapidly expanding outing program for male student laborers.[45] In supervising the hundreds of male student laborers fanned out among the ranchers of Southern California, Long filled a dire need at Sherman. When ranchers or citrus operators requested laborers, he often visited and inspected work sites before sending students. Once the young men departed Sherman for their outing work sites, Long rode a motorcycle from ranch to ranch in order to monitor their living and working conditions. He also tracked down employers who failed to pay student laborers.[46]

Securing jobs for outing workers proved difficult for Long as the Depression wore on, much as it did for his wife. Citing the economic slowdown, the Office of Indian Affairs refused to grant permission for the hiring of a replacement when Long retired following an auto accident in 1930. Kenneth Marmon, a Pueblo man who taught printing at Sherman, added outing to his list of duties. He often contacted upwards of forty businesses each month, but he had little luck securing positions for students. During August 1933 he placed forty-nine students, and only one worked longer than ten days. While students continued to pursue work through Sherman Institute, the economic depression had real and lasting effects on the number of jobs to be had in the outing system, especially for young men.[47]

In addition to creating the positions of boys' outing agent and girls' outing matron, Superintendent Conser developed connections with outing matrons based in Los Angeles. In 1918 the Office of Indian Affairs began assigning outing

FIG 1.4. Sherman Institute Outing Agent Fred Long, n.d. Long became Sherman Institute's first outing agent in 1915. Photo courtesy of the National Archives Personnel Records Center, St. Louis, MO.

matrons to monitor Native people living and working in the Los Angeles area. Conser and his staff worked closely with them to supervise students and alumnae from Sherman Institute who worked and lived in the city, many of whom worked as domestic laborers. For the most part the duties taken on by these matrons mirrored those of Sherman outing matrons Jewett and Long.[48]

Nominal supervision of student laborers and haphazard employment assistance for a few Sherman graduates did not alter the fundamental nature of the outing system when it changed hands from Hall to Conser. In fact, the outing program came to resemble an employment agency even more so than it did under Hall. When Conser arrived in 1909, no coherent outing program for boys existed. By 1913 Sherman sent hundreds of male student laborers to more

than one hundred businesses across Southern California, the majority of them ranches (see Table 1.1). In 1915, Outing Agent Long arranged positions for 210 male Sherman students; 205 worked on ranches. Their duties included cutting and baling hay, digging irrigation ditches, picking and washing fruit, and digging potatoes. Among the five students who avoided agricultural labor, two gained valuable experience working in the printing trade, one cleaned rooms at a local hotel, and two worked under the vague description of "chores."[49]

The arrival of the sugar beet industry in Southern California revealed the extent to which the outing system at Sherman operated as a labor agency. In 1917, newly opened farms struggled to find enough workers to chop and thin their sugar beets. Moreover, the new industry compounded the annual labor shortage that affected citrus growers, who faced a relatively brief window to pick and pack their produce each spring. Desperate growers called on Conser for help, and he quickly obliged. Conser wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, reporting that the "large acreage" of recently planted sugar beets made it "impossible to get sufficient labor for thinning" and that citrus orchards needed to find workers to pick fruit at the same time. Could he end school two weeks early and send all of his students to thin sugar beets and pick fruit? Sells replied promptly: "Authority granted to extend outing system according to your recommendations."[50]

In 1924, Sherman Institute placed 536 student laborers across Southern California, providing a significant source of cheap labor for area families and businesses.[51] While there is little doubt that officials at Sherman Institute believed that manual labor would provide Native people with the most realistic preparation for life after boarding school, balancing the books probably played an equal, if not greater role in the growth of the outing system. Like all federal Indian boarding schools, Sherman received its scant federal funding on a per-student basis. In 1908, for example, the school received $157 per year for each student enrolled. From 1917 to 1929, funding failed to keep pace with the rising costs of operation, with annual payments hovering between $138 and $190 per student.[52] As Sherman administrators dealt with budget shortfalls, crowding more students into the school provided the most reliable influx of money. Even after the school surpassed its capacity, Conser accepted additional female students and placed them in the year-round outing system. Sherman Institute received per-annum funding for each student who worked year-round in the outing system, but because Conser required these students to cover their own room, board, and transportation costs, he could move the funding from these additional students into the general operating budget. Alongside the alleged

TABLE 1.1. Employers of Male Student Laborers from Sherman Institute

Year	Number of Employers	Average Pay per Day (Dollars)	Number of Agricultural Employers	Number of Skilled Employers	Percentage of Agricultural Employers	Percentage of Skilled Employers
1913	113	1.69	105	1	93	1
1914	98	1.43	86	5	88	5
1915	89	1.42	78	5	88	6
1921	92	2.4	84	0	91	0
1922	133	2.28	124	1	93	1
1923	101	2.46	84	2	83	2
1924	125	2.52	94	3	75	2
1925	176	2.38	147	3	84	2
1927	152	2.4	132	2	87	1
1928	136	2.63	109	0	80	0

Sources: Records of Boys Outings, 1912–18, and Time/Pay Worksheets for Outing Pupils, 1917–29, Boxes 115–23, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

Note: Employers of what I term "skilled labor" included blacksmiths, printers, tailors, carpenters, shoe repairers, and garage mechanics.

racial uplift that came with their work, students who worked year-round also provided budget relief. When Supervisor of Education E. H. Hammond asked Conser whether he could take more students at Sherman, the superintendent replied that he had no more beds. "But we can use more girls," he said, "as we can place them on outing and take care of them very nicely."[53]

The first half of this chapter amplifies the voices of bureaucrats and administrators hired to eradicate indigenous peoples and their cultures. A blow-by-blow account of the development of the outing system at Sherman reveals a program that grew from an ethnocentric foundation, placed students at significant risk, and impeded their academic progress. Although the degree of harm done by the outing program may have varied from student to student, it cannot be argued that the outing system consistently fulfilled its stated goal of providing students the tools necessary to join mainstream, white, Protestant America after leaving school. Rather it prepared hundreds of young Indians for lives of menial labor and limited expectations. But as James C. Scott has noted, to examine the bureaucratic records that now dominate most archival holdings is to create narratives that are "resolutely centered on the state's interests."[54] Although records of tragically misguided programs administered by the Office

of Indian Affairs contain much important information on the efforts of the U.S. government to assimilate indigenous peoples, straightforward readings of these documents often provide incomplete narratives. To accept the words of Hall or Conser as fully representative of the events that took place at Sherman Institute is to take the path of least resistance, to see only half the story. Such a viewpoint transforms Indian students from what they were—the most important players in any of the myriad stories within the giant debacle that was assimilationism—into passive statuettes in games controlled by administrators like Pratt and Hall.

Ethnohistorians have done much to detail how Indian students and their families navigated their experiences at boarding schools. Indigenous students, argued historian Clyde Ellis, proved remarkably adept at adapting information from ethnocentric school curricula and utilizing it within the cultural frameworks of their home communities. Far from eliminating Native American cultures, boarding schools often positioned their students to more effectively negotiate the fluid, ever-changing confluences of white and indigenous worlds. Historians Wilbert Ahern, Scott Riney, and Anne Ruggles-Gere noted that after quitting academic work or graduating from boarding schools, many students found employment at schools run by the Office of Indian Affairs, sometimes exerting powerful influence over the educational experiences of young Indians. At times, argued historian David Wallace Adams, boarding schools could even be places of fun and romance.[55] These authors have forged an important and relatively new approach, one that emphasizes the difficult and often tedious work of highlighting indigenous voices where few seem to exist. Surviving records related to the outing program at Sherman Institute offer an opportunity to do just that. Archival narratives from Hall and Conser position the outing system as part of a larger bureaucratic machine that pulled in young students and forced them into exploitative situations. Yet many students managed to enter the outing system on terms of their own choosing. Once there, they exercised the tools at hand in order to make the best of their situations.

Historians Brenda Child and Myriam Vuckovic have noted that for many families, government boarding schools served as crucial resources that helped to offset the harsh economic realities of reservation life. In much the same way, the outing program at Sherman was often a resource sought out by Native people rather than some sort of monster that pulled them in against their will. When Charles Davis struggled to find work during the spring of 1930, he called on Sherman Institute Outing Agent Long for help. A thirty-two-year-old Pima from the Salt River Reservation near Phoenix, Davis claimed extensive

experience working on citrus ranches. "I want to get a steady job so I can work all the time," he said. "I work on farms around here, so I know I can work out there too." Women also used the Sherman outing program as a resource when seeking work. Outing matrons frequently received letters from older Indian women, many of them not alumnae, requesting placement as domestic help in white homes.[56]

Letters sent from job seekers to outing administrators reveal some important trends. First, the outing system provided employment opportunities not only to those enrolled at Sherman Institute but also to Sherman alumni, and even nonalumni living on reservations with strong connections to the school. More importantly, the words of Davis reveal that in times of extended unemployment, many Native people viewed the outing program with a sense of pragmatism. To be sure, the menial positions offered by the outing program reflected low expectations for American Indians. Yet outing offered money and food to people living on reservations where both could be scarce. In times of hunger, employment within the outing system may have felt more like relief than coercion.

For the young women of Sherman Institute, the outing system presented unique challenges. Where male students most often tackled agricultural tasks in teams of at least three or four, female student laborers almost always worked individually as domestic servants. These students often became islands unto themselves, completely removed from family and friends. Still, archival sources show these young women to be anything but passive, pliable, or completely controlled by their employers. Confronted with such harsh realities, many young women did not hesitate to exercise available means of resistance in order to better their situations.

The first line of defense against the outing program involved refusal to participate. During the spring of 1901, Lorenzia Nicholas declined to return to the Bakewell home in Riverside for a second summer of work, apparently objecting to her treatment there. "Lorenzia Nicholas will not work out this year," Harwood Hall informed the Bakewells. "For some reason she objects very strongly to being sent out."[57] Parents and siblings often assisted in efforts to bring Sherman students home for the summer months when time spent with family trumped the importance of working. This was the case during the spring of 1901, when the father of Catherine Cabrillas insisted that his daughter be allowed to return home for the summer rather than work in the outing program. "Catherine Cabrillas's father insisted that I permit his girl to come home at once, as he did not want her to work out," Hall told the Waldman family. "In as much as he is a man of some means, and has a very fair home, I felt that it

was proper for me to send her; in fact, there was nothing else for me to do." Homesick student laborers often took it upon themselves to gain permission to leave their outing duties in order to visit home. If coming home for the summer proved more beneficial than working within the outing system, students and their families went to great lengths to make it happen.[58]

Once on the job, discontented domestic workers wielded a number of different strategies in order to improve conditions or, if need be, get sent home. A common form of resistance involved feigning incomprehension of instructions. Shortly after receiving a domestic worker, Mrs. Charles Martin of Glendora, California, complained bitterly to Etta Long, the outing matron at Sherman. "When she first came I took considerable pains in showing her the things I expected of her," said Martin. "But after two weeks it is necessary for me to do over almost everything she does." Apparently the student would not complete simple tasks like cleaning dishes, washing clothes, and sweeping the kitchen floor. Martin had reached the end of her patience. "The lack of progress in her understanding discourages me and I find I cannot even depend on her to keep an eye on my year old baby and therefore she is no benefit to me whatsoever." It is certainly possible that this student failed to comprehend the instructions of her employer, or that Martin proved so overbearing that nothing short of a job done perfectly could please her. It seems more likely that this student knew that Superintendent Conser shared the alacrity of his predecessor when it came to providing new student laborers to unsatisfied customers. Conser's propensity for switching laborers, combined with the simplicity of the tasks requested, raise the possibility that this student feigned the inability to sweep dust or scrub dirty diapers as a means of escape.[59]

The demands of domestic work made it difficult to maintain social lives, but records suggest that young women in the outing system often fought to maintain contact with romantic interests when they lived and worked beyond Sherman Institute. During the summer of 1917, Sherman student Alice Reed worked for a family in Rialto, twelve miles north of Riverside. There she received frequent visits from her boyfriend, also a student at Sherman.[60] Other women on outing ventured into the cities and towns where they worked in order to meet new people. Helen Phillips, a matron at Sherman Institute, reported in 1917 that Emma Willis "got out and ran away from outing several times." Noting that Willis "always brought another girl with her and visited a Mexican dive in Corona," Phillips lamented, "Emma did so much mischief that summer and fall that I cannot remember it all."[61]

The experiences of Reed and Willis suggest that even if participation in outing came with restrictive rules set firmly within Victorian gender mores, lived

experiences diverged from these harsh regulations. Reed, Willis, and others who worked in Riverside and surrounding communities sometimes escaped the circumscribed spaces of the outing system. Beyond the prying eyes of employers and outing matrons, many domestic workers forged spaces where they could keep alive old relationships and carve out new ones. As Willis socialized in the bars of downtown Corona, for example, she found a degree of freedom that surely would have eluded her under the more closely guarded conditions of Sherman's campus.

Vuckovic has argued that young men at federal Indian boarding schools encountered more opportunities than their female counterparts to resist unfavorable living and working conditions. This held true within the outing system. Whereas outing labor for women involved nearly constant confinement to the home, male student laborers often received work assignments that required independent labor and, at times, solitude. The most frequent among these jobs included threshing and baling hay, thinning beets, harvesting citrus, and fighting fires. These tasks provided ample opportunity for disgruntled male student laborers to run away. In 1929, for example, Sherman student Marcus Foster walked away from a job at a ranch near Corona, just south of Riverside. Officials at Sherman notified law enforcement, and police officers found Foster at an adjacent ranch and took him to Riverside County Jail on unspecified charges. Superintendent Conser brought Foster back to Sherman Institute two days later. Lack of success in escaping work sites did not stop young men on outing from attempting to leave their jobs. Foster was one of many male runaways in 1929 alone.[62]

Challenges related to outing work did not end with the summer, as students and nonstudents alike often had to fight for months after leaving their jobs to receive their pay. As Sherman followed the template set by Pratt's outing system at Carlisle, workers received only a small portion of their payment at their job sites. Conser allowed students to keep one-third of their earnings in the early years; by 1924 outing workers received just one-fourth of their pay. Employers sent the remaining wages to the school superintendent, who deposited the money in individual savings accounts for each student. Students who wished to draw from their account could do so only on the third Friday of each month, and only after producing a written statement explaining how they planned to spend their money. This system of delayed payment offered ample opportunity for employers to withhold hard-earned money from student laborers. At the close of the 1914 and 1915 school years, male student laborers still awaited 10 and 20 percent of the money earned in those years, respectively.[63]

One case of late payment occurred in 1928, when M. K. Thompson failed to pay the remaining wages he owed to eight outing laborers who had pressed hay for two months on his ranch near Brawley, California. Thompson, who had hired outing laborers from Sherman for nearly a decade, had become ill and fallen into debt. While Outing Agent Long quickly involved officials from the California State Division of Labor Statistics and Law Enforcement, investigators sympathized with Thompson's health troubles and gave him more time to pay his debts. Finally, at the urging of Long, state officials filed a complaint against Thompson in July. As the case slowly moved through the California courts, Long continued to seek payment from Thompson, making three unsuccessful trips to El Centro to search for the delinquent farmer.[64]

Thompson's former workers waited patiently for the legal process to run its course. After nearly a year, however, they rose with a fury, writing letter after letter to Long. Robert Chaleco started the firestorm of letters. "Well Mr. Long," he wrote, "what I wanted to ask you is that do you remember when I worked on a hay presser down in the Imperial Valley for M. K. Thompson and he never pay us. Did he send money yet. I like to know if you please." Long also received letters from Herman Lomahoema and Damian Pachito, both looking for wages Thompson owed them.[65] After receiving another round of letters from Chaleco, Pachito, and Lomahoema, Long again pressed his case to the California State Labor Commission. On June 1, 1930, the Commission sent twenty dollars each to the student laborers who had worked for Thompson. Upon receipt of the money, Lomahoema and fellow former Thompson employees Jefferson Miguel and Allen Chee sent letters asking for the remainder of their wages.[66]

Long retired from the Indian Service just as the conflict between Thompson and his former outing employees reached a full crescendo, and so his records do not reveal a satisfying end to the narrative. Still, much can be gathered from this story. To the young men who threshed hay for Thompson, outing labor provided a crucial opportunity to earn much-needed money. This was especially so for Pachito. Born on the Pala Reservation in 1905, Pachito lost both of his parents early in life. He lived with an aunt in Los Angeles, where he attended public schools intermittently. Life there apparently proved difficult, however. By the time Pachito arrived at Sherman Institute in the fall of 1922, he was an orphan again. With its steady meals and clockwork routines, Sherman might have seemed like a sanctuary. Pachito excelled; he chose the agricultural vocational track and received high marks throughout seven full years at school. As he neared the end of his time at Sherman, he must have felt a strange blend of excitement and dread, for he had no family awaiting him

after graduation. Whatever money he earned on outing would be all he had as he started a new life.[67]

Although archival records reveal far less about Chaleco and Lomahoema, it appears as though they needed their outing funds almost as badly as Pachito did. Like Pachito, Chaleco lost his father early in life. A Quechan from the Fort Yuma Reservation, Chaleco arrived at Sherman in 1925 at the age of sixteen. He studied gardening and vocational painting and made frequent trips home to visit his family during breaks from school.[68] Although Lomahoema came from a two-parent household, it appears as though life at Sherman provided him an escape from poverty. A Hopi from Keams Canyon, Arizona, Lomahoema suffered from trachoma, a painful, potentially blinding eye disease that plagued many reservations during the early twentieth century.[69] Nineteen years of age and a first-grade-level student when he arrived at Sherman in 1920, Lomahoema entered the vocational program in carpentry. Whether he wished to avoid his home life or simply enjoyed earning money, he consistently chose to work in the outing system rather than visit home.[70] Pachito, Chaleco, and Lomahoema came from different tribes, educational backgrounds, and family situations. All three, however, saw opportunity within the outing system. When denied fair compensation for their work, they acted forcefully to recover wages from their employer.

For those students who worked frequently, the outing system sometimes became a means to productive, if not lucrative employment. Sherman student Hugh Bell provides an example. A Navajo from Tohatchi, New Mexico, Bell arrived at Sherman in August 1921 at the age of nineteen and enrolled in the vocational program in agriculture. He entered the outing system during the summer of 1922, when he worked for the Fontana Farms Company, the largest employer of male student laborers from Sherman Institute during the 1920s. He worked for three and a half weeks at a rate of $2.65 per day, pulling in seventy-nine dollars. Bell then worked through late August and early September on the ranch of A. E. Kinsley in Corona, where he made an additional forty-four dollars, leaving him with total earnings of $123 for the summer. Throughout the next two summers he worked only sporadically, earning thirty-five and fifty-eight dollars, respectively. During 1925 he did not work under the outing system at all. In 1926 he once again went to work for Fontana Farms. This time he remained at work from June 1 through October 1, earning three dollars per day. By the end of the summer he had pulled in $220. Bell's participation in the outing program became more profitable than ever in 1927, when he began working full time on the ranch of Douglas Fairbanks. Between September 1927

and June 1928 he earned just short of six hundred dollars. Bell's progression through the outing system was typical. In the beginning he worked inconsistently, earning little money. As he aged, though, Bell took on longer stints, until he finally began working full time at age twenty. By 1930 he had accumulated almost eight hundred dollars in his bank account at Sherman Institute, roughly the equivalent of eleven thousand dollars in 2013 dollars.[71]

Although Bell and others like him earned potentially life-altering sums of money in the outing program, these earnings often carried a hefty price tag. During his final year in the outing system, Bell performed backbreaking labor for as many as eighty-four hours per week. Both the pay and the working conditions were similar to what migrant workers experienced in California's Central and Imperial Valleys (see chapter 2). For example, correspondence between Hall and the ranchers suggested that they frequently asked the superintendent to send students equipped with their own tents and cots.[72] And it appears as though long-term participation in the outing system often came at the expense of academic education. During his final year of outing labor, in which he worked full time at the Fairbanks Ranch, it is doubtful that Bell attended school. As Hall and Pratt had done before him, Superintendent Conser required that students attend at least eighty full days of public school in order to remain enrolled. Bell worked an average of fifty-two hours during each week he remained at the Fairbanks Ranch, making eighty days at school all but impossible.[73]

A few Sherman students used the outing system to gain not just substantial pay but also relatively specialized skills. At first glance it appears that outing programs, and vocational curricula at boarding schools more generally, provided students with few usable skills. Young American Indians, the story goes, floated through years of vocation-oriented educational curricula without absorbing any information that might be useful after leaving school. Sherman students Joe Blackwater and Ross Townsend did not follow such a path of futility. Blackwater, a Pima from near Scottsdale, Arizona, arrived at Sherman as a thirteen-year-old during the fall of 1910. Short and slim—he weighed less than one hundred pounds when he enrolled—he was in ill health, suffering from trachoma.[74] As his health improved, he excelled in school. An A student in both his vocational and academic courses, he played clarinet in the school orchestra. Blackwater declined to go on outing for the summers of 1911, 1912, and 1913, opting to go home instead.[75] When he finally did decide to participate in the outing system, Blackwater managed to do so within the field that he had chosen as his vocational focus: printing. Over the summers of 1914 and 1915 he gained valuable experience working in the printing office of the *Riverside Enterprise*,

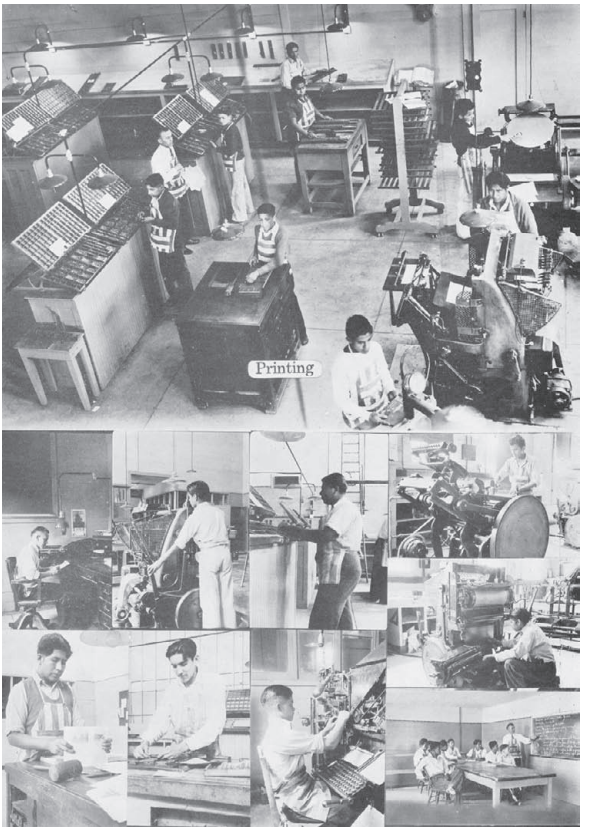


FIG 1.5. Students at work in Sherman's print shop, 1933. Photo courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

making $57 and $107, respectively. He graduated from Sherman in 1920, and shortly thereafter he married classmate May McAdams and moved with her to Los Angeles, where he worked for Llewellyn Iron Works. He returned to Sherman to work in the school print shop in 1923. Whether Blackwater obtained steady employment in the field of printing is unknown, but his brief stint back at Sherman makes it appear likely that he continued pursuing print work for at least a decade after graduating.[76]

Many scholars assert that employment within the Indian School Service was perhaps the most viable career option for graduates of federal Indian boarding schools.[77] Ross Townsend's experience provides a case study in this trend. A

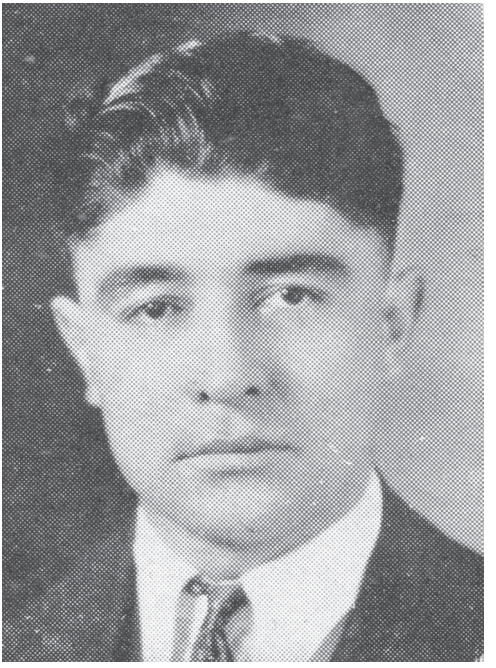


FIG 1.6. Galen Townsend, ca. 1938. Photo courtesy of the Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, CA.

Paiute from Fort Bidwell, California, Townsend arrived at Sherman at the age of eighteen in 1927. Quiet and well rounded, he earned high marks in both his academic and vocational courses, and he played key roles on the Sherman baseball, football, basketball, and wrestling teams.[78] After a year of prevocational courses he chose to be trained as a carpenter during his final two years at school. In the summer of 1928 he worked for Cresmer Manufacturing Company, where he helped construct a new building for the West Coast Theater Company near downtown Corona. Despite his unassuming nature, Townsend drew the attention of Superintendent Conser. After graduating in 1930 and returning to his home community of Fort Bidwell, he received a letter from Sherman Assistant Principal A. P. Westhafer offering him an assistant carpenter position at the school. Noting that he had not yet found a job at Fort Bidwell, Townsend promptly accepted the position and headed for Riverside.[79]

Townsend spent the remainder of his life serving Sherman Institute, with the exception of a four-year stint in the military during World War II. He married classmate Laura Premo, a Shoshone and fellow Sherman alumnus who

worked as an assistant matron at the school after graduation. The newlyweds moved into a small house on the Sherman campus, and Ross used his carpentry skills to add onto the house at night and on weekends. Although school records list Townsend as an assistant carpenter and assistant mason, he worked mostly in maintenance. "He was a 'jack-of-all trades,'" remembered Townsend's son, Galen. "He did a little bit of everything for the school." Important tasks he performed included plumbing, electrical work, and automobile repair—skills that he likely first developed as a vocational student and outing laborer. After hours he served as a wrestling coach. Townsend's teams produced state champions and defeated the likes of the University of Southern California and the University of California, Los Angeles.[80]

Historian Cathleen D. Cahill has described the precarious positions held by Native employees of the Office of Indian Affairs. Many worked subversively against the assimilation-oriented curriculum in order to protect the languages and cultures of their students. Others used their paychecks to support their families and communities, especially those employees who hailed from reservations that lacked wage labor opportunities. Some directed their paychecks to the more acquisitive, capitalistic ideals touted by the schools in which they worked. But no matter what course these indigenous employees chose, wrote Cahill, they faced difficult choices as "subalterns in a colonial bureaucracy."[81]

To be sure, Ross and Laura Townsend faced challenges that their white coworkers did not. During his first ten years as an assistant carpenter, Ross drew an annual salary of $1,200, while head carpenter Charles Hoffstetter earned a yearly salary of $1,800. On average, white employees at Sherman Institute earned over five hundred dollars more than their Native counterparts for the year 1931. In addition, white employees almost always held relatively secure, full-time job appointments, while Native employees often worked in part-time positions. Indigenous employees, it seems, received unfair treatment. Yet the story of the Townsend family complicates this picture. Townsend surely knew that Native employees received lower pay and fewer promotions than white coworkers. When confronted with a choice between unemployment at Fort Bidwell and a position at Sherman Institute, though, he did not hesitate to choose his alma mater. On the Sherman campus the Townsends managed to raise five children comfortably. "We weren't rich," said Galen, "but we had everything we needed."[82]

The Townsends raised their children to be conscious and proud of their Native identity—no small feat given the emphasis on assimilation and cultural erasure that pervaded the academic curriculum at Sherman Institute between

1940 and 1960. Their son Galen asserted his Shoshone/Paiute identity, even as many people mistakenly identified him with the prominent Latino population of California's Inland Empire. Today, Galen Townsend and his children maintain strong connections with Sherman Institute. He volunteers at the school museum, and his son and daughter coach and teach at the school, just as his father once did.[83] Ross and Laura Townsend attended and worked for a school that existed to erase their indigenous identities. Yet paychecks from Sherman Institute and the intertribal community of Native people that the school created ultimately fostered the indigenous identity of the Townsend family.

By the time Sherman Institute came into existence, administrators and bureaucrats within the Office of Indian Affairs had already bought into the increasingly prominent notion that American Indians lacked the tools necessary for equal participation within the dominant culture. But Native voices that speak from remaining records of Sherman Institute remind us that low expectations, poor working conditions, and scant pay constituted part, but not all of the outing system. For Charles Davis and others like him, the chance to earn money and see new places at least partly obscured the poor wages and conditions that characterized their work. Far from helpless, students such as Lorenzia Nicholas fought hard to exercise a measure control over when and for whom they worked. Joe Blackwater and Ross Townsend participated in the system not because they were coerced but because they wanted to, whether for much-needed money or a break from the mundane institutional rhythms of boarding school life. These voices remind us that fixating on the ethnocentric roots and sometimes brutal outcomes of the outing system ignores its complexity, at best, and, at worst, assumes a condition of helplessness among students and their families. Like almost all aspects of federal Indian boarding schools during the early twentieth century, the outing system at Sherman Institute presented difficult and sometimes overwhelming challenges to young Native Americans. But, like students at federal Indian boarding schools everywhere, the young people at Sherman Institute used courage and creativity to draw from the outing system as much as they could.

As the outing system at Sherman Institute expanded throughout the twentieth century, it sent young women farther afield in search of the supposedly uplifting benefits of labor, with some students traveling to cities and towns as far as one hundred miles from Riverside to find wage labor opportunities. Women from Sherman Institute ventured into Los Angeles to work as domestics in the fast-growing metropolis. Young men chopped sugar beets in Temecula, California, forty miles south of Riverside, and others ventured eighty miles

north to fight fires in the Angeles National Forest. Still others found work in the factories and foundries of downtown Los Angeles.

The largest recipient of outing workers, however, was far closer to Sherman Institute. Just fifteen miles north of Riverside, an enterprising businessman named A. B. Miller undertook the nearly impossible work of transforming a forlorn desert outpost into an agricultural empire. Between 1907 and 1929, hundreds of male students from Sherman Institute worked for Miller and his company, Fontana Farms—more, in fact, than any other company associated with the outing system at Sherman Institute. In Fontana, the lives of young indigenous men from across the American Southwest became intertwined, however briefly, with the messy complexities of agricultural labor on a large-scale, industrial farm. Hopis and Navajos, Mojaves and Apaches—all spent their nights jammed into filthy living quarters. By day they rubbed elbows with laborers from Mexico, Japan, and Eastern Europe, among other places, as they herded hogs and threshed hay. For these workers, the challenges of time spent at Sherman Institute went far beyond the hardships that are traditionally associated with federal Indian boarding schools.

CHAPTER 2

Indian School, Company Town

Students from Sherman Institute at the Fontana Farms Company

IN MID-MAY OF 1907, CLASSES CAME TO A CLOSE AT SHERMAN INSTITUTE. After a graduation soiree that featured concerts, baseball games, and grandiose speeches on racial "uplift," the school's five hundred–odd students went their separate ways. Those whose reservation agents deemed their parents' homes "acceptable" traveled home for the summer. Most often, agents allowed students to return home to work for their family or to care for an ailing loved one. Many of those who remained worked in the outing system. Some participated in outing from a desire to work and earn money, others because they had nowhere else to go, and still others because they couldn't endure the mundane rhythms of boarding school life on a year-round basis. For administrators at Sherman Institute, of course, outing had a much grander meaning. If Indian schools were to erase tribal identities, the outing system would serve as the centerpiece of the process.

Just a few miles down the road, Superintendent Harwood Hall and Outing Agent Fred Long found an ideal place to expose young men from Sherman Institute to the supposedly uplifting benefits of manual labor. Fifteen miles north of Riverside, the Fontana Farms and Fontana Land Companies sprawled across twenty-eight square miles of rocky, wind-beaten terrain at the foothills of the San Gabriel Mountains. A. B. Miller, the founder of both companies, made his first fortune in the construction boom that accompanied the rapid agricultural development of Southern California's Imperial Valley. Miller soon shifted his gaze from building homes and hotels in the heart of industrial farm country to creating an agricultural colony of his own.[1]

Miller built Fontana Farms into one of the largest agricultural operations in North America, and he did so at least partly on the backs of young men from Sherman Institute. Between 1908 and 1929, at least 347 male students from

Sherman Institute lived and worked at the Fontana Farms Company.[2] Labor inspection reports from the State of California and letters written by outing administrators reveal an outing system built atop low expectations for Native people, one that aimed to funnel them into the bottom of Southern California's working class. On the job, young men from Sherman battled dangerous working conditions, suffered subpar housing, and struggled to communicate with fellow workers across linguistic and cultural barriers. Yet their experiences entailed more than suffering and exploitation. Memoirs, letters, and economic surveys show that many students used outing work at Fontana Farms and elsewhere to earn more money than they could at home, and that they often engaged in outing labor in ways that strengthened their cultures—an ironic outcome for a program that looked to erase Native identities. Moreover, as these students traveled vast distances and balanced the demands of home life with the benefits of earning money, they moved beyond the boundaries of boarding schools as historians have imagined them.

A. B. Miller arrived in Fontana in 1906 and immediately tackled the herculean task of transforming an arid swath of boulders, sage, and greasewood into a booming agricultural operation. Using investments from Los Angeles bankers, Miller quickly established infrastructure for the Fontana Farms Company. He purchased 75 percent of the rights to Lytle Creek, a snow-fed stream that flowed from the San Gabriel Mountains, and used its waters for irrigation and power.[3] Teams of workers planted eucalyptus trees to break ceaseless, destructive winds. Others cut roads and laid railroad tracks. By 1928, Miller's company had grown into one of the largest farms in California. His five thousand acres of citrus groves sent oranges, grapefruits, and lemons to markets of the eastern United States under the Sunkist label.[4] Fifty thousand hogs provided an estimated one quarter of the pork products consumed in the Los Angeles basin and ample fertilizer for citrus groves and vineyards in Fontana. The City of Los Angeles paid Miller handsomely to dump its trash at Fontana Farms, and Miller fed the refuse to his pigs.[5]

For officials at Sherman Institute, both the close proximity of Fontana Farms and its prosperity made it an ideal match for the school's outing program. But Fontana Farms was not the only one of Miller's companies to draw the attention of administrators at Sherman Institute. Under the banner of the Fontana Land Company, Miller developed and sold hundreds of small farm plots where families grew citrus and cultivated small gardens. By 1928 a company census estimated that newcomers to the Fontana Land Company constructed thirty-six new homes each month. Most purchased 2.5-acre plots and built their own

FIG 2.1. A mural in downtown Fontana, California, memorializes A. B. Miller, founder of the Fontana Farms Company, as part cowboy, part businessman. At lower right, the mural also pays homage to the families who lived at Miller's Fontana Land Company and sold chickens and eggs to poultry plants at Fontana Farms. Photo by author.

home. A few moved into premade, Spanish colonial–style bungalows. Many of these homesteaders also ran small poultry operations by purchasing chickens from hatcheries owned by Fontana Farms and selling eggs and chickens back to the company for distribution. In 1928, company officials estimated that over one million chickens roamed the homesteads and ranches associated with the Fontana Land Company. Small-scale agriculture, argued Miller, allowed families to produce and consume their own food, and thus provided a buffer from the boom-and-bust cycles of Southern California's wage labor market. In theory, then, Fontana Land Company allowed settlers to move back to the land and escape the drudgeries and dangers of the rapidly industrializing western United States. As long as they stayed away from the hog farm, of course.[6]

Most studies of company towns in the United States have focused on settlements constructed around a single industry that operated year-round, such as mining or manufacturing.[7] But Miller constructed a company town of a different sort. The blend of citrus, hogs, and other crops at Fontana Farms meant that while the size of the workforce in Fontana varied by season, there were always tasks to be completed. Citrus often requires labor for at least ten months of the year. This pattern stood in stark contrast to other crops in California, such as

sugar beets, that demanded large workforces for brief harvest periods. During the winter months, for example, workers remained on hand to "smudge," or burn crude oil in pots located throughout the citrus orchards in order to protect them from cold temperatures.[8] Spring brought the intense rush of picking, sorting, and packing citrus fruits, and during the summer work centered mostly around harvesting hay for feed. The company's cattle and poultry operations also required year-round labor. The settlers who raised chickens and fruit under the banner of the Fontana Land Company formed a permanent core of roughly two thousand people at Fontana, with workers who performed seasonal tasks inhabiting semipermanent dwellings at the periphery. Unlike many agricultural towns in the Central and Imperial Valleys, then, many workers maintained a permanent presence in Fontana. A small, business-oriented political elite maintained tight control over industry and community life for permanent and temporary residents alike.[9]

While no outing workers labored at Fontana Land Company, it nonetheless showcased a combination of hard physical labor and Jeffersonian ideals to Sherman students working at the adjacent Fontana Farms Company. For administrators at Sherman, the Fontana Farms Company and Fontana Land Company demonstrated two possible paths to assimilation. Heaping trash into feeding pits, shoveling pig manure, and herding hogs onto train cars taught young Native men the value of joining the wage-earning class, and the Fontana Land Company demonstrated to student laborers the value of private landownership and yeoman agriculture—a lifestyle that had become deeply tied to ideas of masculinity and "true manliness" by the early twentieth century, as historian Cecilia Tsu detailed. Even if the outing system increasingly pushed Native people toward the bottom of the wage-earning class, students would be better off for having lived in proximity to those who engaged in small-scale agriculture. Harwood Hall's successor, Frank Conser, sent hundreds of male student laborers to work there each summer—more than any other work site in Southern California.[10]

Labor inspection reports suggest that time spent at Fontana Farms thrust students into a racially divided world of work. In 1912, progressives in the state created the California Commission of Immigration and Housing (CCIH) in an attempt to Americanize immigrant workers and protect them as they worked. Yet the CCIH lacked powers of enforcement, and its inspections rarely led to anything more than polite suggestions that companies improve their working conditions.[11] Still, reports from the CCIH provide important details regarding the lives of workers at Fontana Farms. Perhaps most importantly, they reveal

that no matter the task assigned to workers, Fontana Farms Company organized its labor practices around one all-important factor: race. While the histories of California and the American Southwest are characterized by nuanced racial hierarchies in which Native people assumed different places at different times, labor reports from Fontana portray a company town in which race functioned along one primary dividing line: Mexican or not Mexican.[12] Return addresses on letters written by students from Sherman working at Fontana Farms correspond with camps labeled "Mexican" by inspectors from the CCIH, making it appear likely that they lived and worked in these segregated spaces.[13]

Conditions for Mexican workers proved far worse than those faced by their white counterparts. While records from the CCIH do not reveal how much Mexican workers paid for accommodations, they leave little doubt that workers of color faced subpar living conditions. Housing in white-only camps featured rooms far more spacious than those found in Mexican camps. White workers often had ten-by-ten-foot rooms all to themselves, while Mexican workers dealt with far more crowded conditions. For example, the Declez hog camp featured eight small, two-room shacks that held twenty-two beds for twenty-six workers. Housing facilities for white workers had separate kitchen quarters. Mexican workers, on the other hand, cooked and ate within their meager living quarters. At many camps, white workers reveled in the luxury of a hot shower. Mexican workers did not.[14]

To be sure, workers of all ethnicities shared many challenges at Fontana Farms, including outhouses. Latrines in both white and Mexican camps often overflowed, and black flies flew freely through unscreened privy windows. White and nonwhite workers alike deposited food scraps into open pits just feet away from their barracks, where pigs and chickens noisily scavenged.[15] But workers at the Mexican camps faced problems their white counterparts did not. One can imagine a Sherman student treading wearily to his job after a sleepless night in a smoky, ten-by-ten room, teeming with smells of human waste, body odor, and the previous night's dinner.

In addition to segregated working conditions, Native outing workers from Sherman Institute received lower pay than their white counterparts. Those deemed "Mexican" made between three and four dollars a day during the 1920s, while those labeled "Native born Americans" made as much as nine dollars each day. White workers paid one dollar per day for food and lodging. Mexican workers negotiated the cost of food and lodging independently.[16] This is not necessarily to say that the wages they received were pitifully low in comparison to agricultural workers elsewhere. Native workers at Fontana Farms made wages

that were comparable to other agricultural laborers in California. In 1921, for example, Mexican lemon pickers in nearby Corona earned $2.50 for a day's work, and women who packed and sorted citrus fruit earned no more than $2.50 per day. In 1919, Mexican and white citrus pickers in Pasadena earned an average of $3.25 per day, and Mexican pickers in Azusa brought home an average of $3 per day.[17] Wages earned by outing laborers at Fontana Farms looked even better when compared to pay earned by agricultural workers in California's Central and Imperial Valleys. Peach pickers in Tulare, California, earned no more than $1.50 each day in 1933. Throughout the 1930s cotton workers in the Central Valley earned between $.75 and $1.25 per day, and no more than $3. During that time Filipino lettuce workers in the Imperial Valley earned as little as ten cents per hour, and their counterparts in the San Joaquin Valley could expect to earn no more than $250 for a four-month season.[18]

To be sure, then, outing workers at Sherman Institute made wages that were comparable to or even higher than those earned by other nonwhite agricultural workers in California. Still, wages and conditions at Fontana reflected diminishing expectations within the Office of Indian Affairs for the future prospects of Native people. Outing workers found themselves lumped in with Mexican workers, and as a result they made less money and faced far more difficult working conditions than those labeled "Native born Americans." Moreover, they worked in the shadows of white homesteaders from the Fontana Land Company, both European and American, who lived out a Jeffersonian agrarian ideal to which Native outing workers did not have access. Richard Henry Pratt, the founder of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School and a primary architect of federal Indian education policy, dreamed that boarding schools and their outing systems would propel young Native people onto equal footing with white, Protestant Americans. As historian Frederick E. Hoxie has noted, however, the sun had set on such ideas by the early twentieth century. Among the politicians and bureaucrats who controlled Indian affairs, hope for the assimilation and equal participation of Native peoples within the dominant white culture of the United States gave way to caricatures of the "vanishing Indian."[19] As it functioned at Sherman Institute, the outing system reflected these newer, more pessimistic ideas about Native people by pushing them toward the bottom rung of a racialized working class. For students who participated in outing, the vast difference between their accommodations at Sherman Institute and at Fontana sheds light on the fundamental message students received as they moved between Indian school and company town: The relative cleanliness of Sherman Institute would not last. Life in the segregated, agricultural working class would be dirty and

dangerous. As hundreds of Native students from Sherman Institute attempted to use time spent working at Fontana Farms for their own purposes, they did so under harsh conditions that took root in diminished expectations within federal Indian boarding schools.[20]

Alongside the challenges of long hours and racialized working conditions, the outing system operated as part of a larger curriculum in which students at Sherman Institute and other federal Indian boarding schools worked far too much. At Sherman, students endured daily routines filled with ceaseless academic and vocational work that began at 5:30 in the morning and ran until 9:00 at night. "Life at Sherman Institute," wrote an inspector from the Board of Indian Commissioners, "seems to be just one bugle call, line up, roll call, and steam whistle scream after another."[21] Outing labor added significantly to this difficult schedule. Each year, after the brief respite of graduation ceremonies, Sherman students ventured into the fields and factories of Southern California. While most scholars of Indian education have commented on the harsh work regimens at boarding schools, few have factored time spent in the outing system into this pattern of overwork. For students who spent significant portions of the summer working on outing, the lure of potentially lucrative wages ran head-on into the dangers of reduced time for rest and recovery from the school year and feelings of depression and homesickness that might have come from time spent working rather than visiting family and friends at home.

An unscientific sampling of the student files of those who worked at Fontana Farms reveals that some student laborers became ill, and sometimes seriously so. Of the 347 student laborers who worked for Fontana Farms between 1912 and 1929, at least four ended up with a diagnosis of tuberculosis before leaving school. This is not to suggest that students working at Fontana Farms suffered from tuberculosis or other chronic diseases at rates higher than their counterparts who did not go on outing. Rather, outing fit into a broader trend in which the volume of work performed by students at Sherman Institute and other federal Indian boarding schools became detrimental to their well-being.[22]

Navajo student Benjamin Small provides an example of this trend. In late spring of 1926 a mysterious illness gripped twenty-one-year-old Small, who began participating in the outing system in the summer of 1924, when he worked a month-long stint at Fontana Farms. In the summers of 1924 and 1925 he worked with hogs at Fontana Farms, threshed and bailed hay at the C. H. Coulson Ranch, cleaned chicken coops at the Glenbea Poultry Ranch, and fought fires in the Cleveland Forest Reserve north of San Diego. Altogether he earned $135

over two summers. As classes came to a close in May 1926, Small prepared to go on outing once again. But after just half a day spent working at the ranch of T. J. Richmond, he promptly returned to Sherman Institute.[23] Small's health was failing him, and he wrote to his family that he feared he was coming down with tuberculosis. Small's mother visited Leupp Agency Superintendent W. O. Roberts and requested that her son be sent home. On June 5, 1926, Roberts sent news of Small's ill health to Sherman Institute Superintendent Frank Conser, and Conser sent a terse note to staff at the school hospital: "Have this boy examined and have the doctor report to me." Apparently referring to Sherman students lost in the past, Conser added that he did "not want a repeat where we send another boy home on a stretcher."[24] Small promptly entered the school hospital for rest and observation by Sherman's contract physician, W. W. Roblee. Roblee reported finding no signs of tuberculosis, but noted that Small was "losing in weight, has a poor appetite, and would be better off at home, at least for the summer." Small arrived home at Diablo Canyon on June 18, and he never returned to Sherman Institute. Records do not reveal whether he recovered from his illness.[25]

Gary Lamb, a Navajo student from near Crown Point, New Mexico, suffered a similar fate. In the summers between 1924 and 1928 he worked for Fontana Farms, as well as the Santa Fe and J. J. Orraj ranches. He worked longer and harder than most of his fellow outing laborers, grossing $642 for three summers of work. Yet Lamb could barely stay healthy enough to remain in school. After graduation in June 1928 he headed straight for the sanitarium run by the Office of Indian Affairs at the Soboba Reservation near Hemet, California.[26] Lamb wrote in August to report that he was "feeling fine," but that he wanted money from his outing account so that he could arrange for a transfer to the sanitarium at Fort Defiance, Arizona, which he felt would help his health "on account of the high altitude and dry climate." Lamb apparently received no money from Conser, and he continued to languish at the hospital in Soboba until at least February, when Outing Agent Long sent him an employment survey. "For being at the sanitarium," wrote Lamb, "I cannot engage in any work." With a blank employment form, the story of Gerald Lamb fades into a mystery. In the end, the very curriculum that aimed to make Lamb a productive cog in the industrial machine of the western United States left him unable to work, or worse, dead.[27]

The fate of another student who spent time at Fontana Farms during the 1920s is much clearer than Lamb's. Hank Bisbee, a Navajo, succumbed to tuberculosis in the school hospital at Sherman Institute. Bisbee must have felt a sense of excitement and hope in the spring of 1929 as he graduated from

Sherman Institute. An A student, he had been admitted to Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas.[28] There he could finish the eleventh and twelfth grades, clearing the way for an advanced vocational trade, or even college. But it was not to be. Rather than going home for the summer following graduation, Bisbee elected to go on outing in Southern California. He was a hard worker; between 1926 and 1929 he never earned less than $108 in a summer.[29] That final summer at Sherman, though, he returned from work in July, a full month earlier than normal, and checked himself into the school hospital. School physician Roblee diagnosed him with tuberculosis. On September 8, after two excruciating months of illness, he suffered a lung hemorrhage. By late August it became clear that Bisbee would never make it to Haskell Institute. For the next three months fever gripped his body, and his temperature hovered between 100 and 103 degrees. Each night his nurse reported that he sweated through his sheets. On the worst days, Bisbee coughed until he vomited. Finally, on November 22, 1929, he died.[30]

In addition to hectic work schedules and terrible working conditions, students at Fontana Farms worked in close proximity with a diverse body of workers from across the globe. The diversity of the workforce at Fontana cuts against portrayals of Native people as being isolated within the walls of boarding schools and the boundaries of reservations during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Hopi student laborer Don Talayesva offered a window into interethnic interactions at Fontana. As Talayesva reflected on his time at Fontana Farms, ethnic diversity came to the forefront of his thoughts. First and foremost he remembered a love affair with Olive, a "high-toned" young woman of mixed Mexican and Klamath ancestry. Talayesva also remembered being teased about his love affair by his boss, a crusty old man from Germany.[31]

While inspectors from the CCIH recorded only the presence of "native born Americans" and "Mexicans" at Fontana Farms, other sources suggest that Miller's company drew workers from all over the world.[32] By the mid-1920s, Mexicans constituted the majority of nonwhite workers there. This fits with a broader trend in the greater Los Angeles area, as growers struggled to find white workers following the manufacturing boom that accompanied World War I. The Fontana *Herald-News* reported the presence of substantial numbers of Asian laborers, many of Japanese descent, and Southern and Eastern Europeans among the company's five hundred workers. Moreover, settlers from Southern and Eastern Europe and the midwestern United States poured into Fontana to create homesteads under the banner of the Fontana Land Company. While these settlers did not work alongside students from Sherman Institute, they occupied a geographically

central place within the layout of the Fontana Farms Company and the town itself, making it likely that outing workers interacted with them.[33] The diversity of the workforce at Fontana Farms reflected a broader trend within California agriculture. Between 1923 and 1930, year-end labor camp reports from the CCIH noted the presence of thousands of workers who had come from abroad and found work in the fields of California, including immigrants from Mexico, Italy, Greece, Armenia, India, Ireland, Russia, France, and Switzerland. Growers in the surrounding communities of Southern California's Inland Empire also employed Chinese, Sikh, Japanese, Mexican, Filipino, and white workers.[34]

The diversity experienced by student laborers as they worked at Fontana Farms and elsewhere sheds new light on boarding school experiences. Scholars have done much to examine how federal Indian education systems played host to interactions between students from different tribes. Historian Hazel W. Herzberg, among others, argued that the schools fostered a sense of "pan-Indian" identity among students from across Indian country.[35] The outing system likely moved far beyond pan-Indianism in impacting how students imagined the world and their places in it. Sherman Institute was far from a hermetically sealed time capsule where students remained isolated from the challenges and opportunities of a rapidly changing world. As young men made their way to jobs at Fontana Farms and elsewhere in Southern California, they came into intimate contact with myriad people, languages, and cultures—a far cry from the spatial and ethnic isolation often associated with boarding school experiences.

In his history of Italian, Greek, and Mexican railroad workers in the United States and Canada, historian Gunther Peck argued compellingly that immigrants often ventured far beyond the boundaries of the ethnic ghettoes that have so often served as the spatial and theoretical focal points of immigration histories. The immigrants in Peck's narrative traveled to remote areas of Canada and the United States to work on railroad construction crews, where they battled extreme weather, brutal foremen, and slippery labor contractors who often attempted to cheat workers out of their pay.[36] In moving beyond the walls of Sherman Institute to join the workforces of California's burgeoning industrial farms, young men from Sherman entered into common experiences with people from all over the world who braved the dangers of the rapidly industrializing western United States in order to work and earn money. Just as immigration histories are pushing beyond the intellectually restrictive bounds of the ethnic ghetto, so too should studies of boarding schools do more to consider connections between indigenous students at boarding schools and the communities and regions in which they learned and labored.[37]

Anthropologist James Clifford has noted that views of indigenous peoples change significantly once scholars and others acknowledge when, how, and why they moved across landscapes.[38] With this thought in mind, Sherman Institute looks less like a terminal point of destination where students remained trapped in time and space and more like a hub within a vast and complicated network of movements. Each summer hundreds of students traveled great distances, sometimes thousands of miles, to work and earn money. In Southern California, they balanced the challenges of living and working within the difficult conditions of Fontana Farms and other industrial agricultural operations, and of communicating with people across barriers of language and culture. That they did so under the unique conditions presented by the outing system, and while maintaining unique ties to their cultures and homelands, makes their experiences even more noteworthy.

None of this is to suggest that all students at all schools could use outing programs to engage wage labor markets on their own terms. Surely this was not always the case. Outing workers often experienced segregation, low pay, and harsh conditions. Moreover, reservation agents and school superintendents often shaped how, why, and when students traveled between school, work, and home. To borrow a phrase from historian Brian C. Hosmer, power mattered at boarding schools, and students often had precious little.[39] Yet one cannot dip into the archives without encountering Native people attempting to use the outing system for their own purposes.

Sherman student Don Talayesva made one of the first sojourns from Sherman Institute to the Fontana companies in 1907. His experiences point toward the agency exercised by Native workers at Fontana Farms and the geographical mobility involved for those students who balanced summer employment with visits home. Talayesva left no evidence of what he felt as he rode north for fifteen miles, away from the magnolias and orange trees of Riverside and into the rocky desert hills of Fontana. In his dictated autobiography the Hopi Indian from Third Mesa left little doubt as to what filled his mind as he toiled in the Southern California summer heat: a woman. Talayesva earned two dollars a day for the difficult work of chopping, pitching, and baling hay. At night, he arranged frequent meetings with Olive, the young woman of mixed Mexican and Klamath ancestry.[40]

Talayesva gained more than experience in love. When he returned to Sherman in the fall, the young Hopi put his hard-earned money to use buying clothes to impress his classmates: low-top patent-leather shoes, a fancy hat, a velvet shirt, and a silk necktie. He opened his wallet even more at school social

events, reporting that he "spent much money on the girls in gifts, tickets, and refreshments."[41] Historians of Indian education have unearthed the ideologies behind labor curricula at federal Indian boarding schools. In so doing they have demonstrated how work programs at the schools negatively affected academic learning and prepared students for lives spent on the lower rungs of the working class.[42] Yet Talayesva's remembrances of the Fontana companies suggest that the experiences of student laborers in the outing system went well beyond the ethnocentric visions of school administrators and the exploitative desires of business owners. Talayesva faced difficult conditions at Fontana Farms, to be sure. But as the enterprising young Hopi worked at Fontana Farms, he did so with his own goals, purposes, and desires in mind.

Talayesva's account of his time in Fontana also highlights underexplored connections between Indian education and mobility. His educational career began with a six-hundred-mile train ride west from the Orayvi Village on the Hopi Reservation through the desert and into Riverside, a place that returned Hopi students called "the land of oranges."[43] Talayesva spent the academic year of 1906–7 at Sherman Institute, then trekked fifteen miles north to work at Fontana Farms. After the 1907–8 school year he ventured east to harvest cantaloupes in the Imperial Valley. Later he worked at a dairy farm in San Bernardino, fifteen miles northwest of Riverside, before he returned to Fontana to work the remainder of the summer. All told, he journeyed at least 1,500 miles in under two years. Travel thus became a significant part of his time at school. Among Sherman students he was far from unique in this regard. In the forty years after the school's opening in 1902, hundreds of young men from across the American West performed agricultural work in Southern California, many at Fontana Farms.[44]

Sherman student Wilbert Douglaclesh provides a compelling snapshot of a distinctly Navajo approach to the outing system. Douglaclesh hailed from Tohatchi, and he arrived at Sherman Institute in 1921 at seventeen years of age. After three years of coursework that focused mostly on agriculture, he began working in the outing system in the summer of 1925.[45] Like hundreds of Sherman students before him, Douglaclesh followed an annual cycle in which he struck a balance between schooling, wage labor, and home life. He finished school in late May 1925. Over the course of June, July, and the first half of August, he worked ten-hour days at Fontana Farms, where he earned three dollars a day for working with hogs and poultry, as well as cutting, threshing, and baling hay.[46] All told, he netted $159 before visiting home in late August 1925. Douglaclesh received only one third of this amount; the remainder went

into a bank account at Sherman Institute to be controlled by Superintendent Conser. If he left school permanently, the money would be sent to the agent in charge of his home reservation.[47]

In June 1926 Douglaclesh began working year-round at the ranch of Walter Martin in Temecula, California, an agricultural community located forty miles south of Riverside. By working instead of attending class, he joined a substantial group of Native people who essentially used the school as a labor agency to gain full-time employment in Southern California. Douglaclesh remained on the books as a student at Sherman, in large part so that the school could continue receiving the annual payment that the federal government provided for each enrolled student. At the Martin Ranch he worked six days a week at a rate of $2.25 per day. From June 1926 to June 1927 he labored ten hours a day, six days a week, taking only Sundays for rest. With room and board subtracted, Douglaclesh earned $566 for the year, or roughly $7,600 in 2013 dollars.[48]

Timecards from Sherman Institute allow for basic exploration of what Douglaclesh experienced as he worked in the outing system. When Douglaclesh returned home to the Navajo Reservation in 1927, however, he penned a note to Superintendent Conser that revealed far more than any timecard ever could. Writing from his home near Tohatchi, New Mexico, Douglaclesh bemoaned a forty-mile journey to the agency headquarters to pick up his outing wages that left him empty-handed. "I thought you sent my money to Fort Defiance already," he wrote. "Some time ago I went to Fort Defiance and my money is not there yet." Like many former students who had worked in the outing system, Douglaclesh wrote in search of the two-thirds of his wages held hostage by Superintendent Conser. The words that followed, however, add meaning to his time in the outing system: "I want my money right away because I want to buy some sheep. I bought only ten sheep already. I want to buy about fifty more." For good measure he also informed Conser that he intended to use any remaining outing money to buy lumber so that he could add on to his family's home.[49]

Long hours traveling between reservation and boarding school and many months spent toiling in Sherman's outing system ultimately led Douglaclesh back to the Navajo Reservation. In amassing in herd of sheep, he invested his hard-earned money in an economic activity that had become crucial to many Navajo families and communities. Spanish explorers and missionaries introduced horses, sheep, cattle, mules, and goats to Navajo country during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Navajo people quickly incorporated the animals into their economy and culture.[50] In 1890, when the Office of Indian Affairs began keeping statistics related to livestock, Navajo people grazed some

(a)

(b)

FIG 2.2. (a) Students at Sherman Institute bale hay, n.d. (b) At the school farm and on outing, baling hay was a common task for male students at Sherman. Photo courtesy of the Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, CA.

575,000 sheep and 186,000 goats across the reservation. Sheep provided wool, mutton, and blankets that could be used at home or to barter for goods at trading posts. Historian Colleen O'Neill has written that sheep and other livestock had become deeply tied to "fundamental values about parenting, gender, and notions of security." Navajo parents taught their children responsibility through care of livestock. Navajo families used large, healthy herds to signal their status within the community, and Navajo mothers passed wealth and security to their daughters via their sheep. By the late nineteenth century, sheep had moved to the very center of Navajo culture and identity.[51]

It is tempting to imagine that Wilbert Douglaclesh had sheep on his mind as he toiled in the fields and pigpens of Fontana Farms, and that he planned to use money from outing to return to the Navajo Reservation, purchase livestock, and start life anew. Given the information at hand, it is impossible to say whether this was the case. Still, the outing program *did* provide Douglaclesh with sufficient cash to start his herd or add to a preexisting one. Perhaps more important is the way he got there, combining elements of mobility, federal Indian bureaucracy, and wage labor in order to accrue significant cash. O'Neill argued convincingly that Navajo people of the early twentieth century grounded the engagement of new wage labor markets within Navajo spirituality and culture. For Douglaclesh, it seems that the outing system at Sherman Institute became an integral part of what O'Neill has called "working the Navajo way."[52]

The experiences of Douglaclesh and Talayesva represent a broader trend within the outing system, as Navajo and Hopi students predominated among students working at Fontana Farms, and within the outing system more generally (see Table 2.1). Navajos and Hopis spent more days at work and netted more money than their counterparts from California tribes. In 1926, for example, thirty-one Navajos worked at Fontana Farms among a contingent of seventy-five students from Sherman. It is surprising that Navajos formed almost one third of the group, given their relatively low numbers at Sherman. In the late 1920s and early 1930s Navajos normally constituted between 10 and 20 percent of the overall student body (see Table 2.1).[53]

Among tribes represented at Fontana Farms, Navajo students more than doubled Hopis, the next most prominent group. Navajo students, however, did not hold a monopoly on hard work. While their Hopi counterparts worked at Fontana Farms in numbers only slightly greater than their overall representation within the student body, they worked far longer and made far more money than the average student once they arrived on the job. Why, then, did Navajos participate in greater numbers, and why did Hopis work so much longer than their peers?

TABLE 2.1. Student Laborers at Fontana Farms by Tribe, 1926

Tribe	Number of Students at Fontana Farms	Percentage of Students at Fontana Farms	Expected Percentage of Students at Fontana Farms
Navajo	31	41	15
Hopi	12	16	14
Apache	5	7	2
Pueblo	5	7	4
Tohono O'odham	4	5	4
Paiute	2	3	7
Concow	1	1	1
Lakota	1	1	1
"Mission"	1	1	13
Mono	1	1	1
Pima	1	1	2
Quechan	1	1	3
Shasta	1	1	1
Wylackie	1	1	1
Yaqui	1	1	1
Unknown	6	8	

Sources: Time/Pay Worksheets for Outing Pupils, 1926, Box 121, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Student Case Files, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

Note: Tribal affiliations were identified by pulling the names of students from outing timecards for the year 1926 and then accessing their student files. Expected percentages for each tribal group reflect averages calculated from censuses taken at Sherman Institute in 1923, 1929, 1931, and 1932. For 1923 census, see Malcolm McDowell to Board of Indian Commissioners, October 4, 1923, Box 19, Folder: 92503-1923, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC. For 1929 census, see Annual Report for Sherman Institute, Box 19, Folder: 14570-1930, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC. For 1931 census, see Carl Moore to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Rhoads, January 19, 1931, Box 20, Folder: 4043-1931, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC. For 1932 census, see *Sherman Bulletin* 26, no. 5 (1932), SIC, SM.

In Southern California, Navajo and Hopi students gained access to more and higher paying jobs than they could have found closer to home. In 1926, as Douglaclesh and thirty of his fellow Navajo students from Sherman Institute toiled at Fontana Farms, prospects for earning cash on the Navajo Reservation looked bleak. According to numbers collected by the Office of Indian Affairs and vetted by the Brookings Institution for the Meriam Report of 1928, Navajo

TABLE 2.2. Per Capita Income among Tribes Represented at Fontana Farms, 1926

Agency	Tribe	Average Income in Dollars
Leupp	Navajo	17
Western Navajo	Navajo	32
Fort Yuma	Quechan	95
Fort Apache	Apache	96
Mission	Cahuilla/Serrano	107
San Juan	Navajo	111
Consolidated Ute	Ute	113
Southern Pueblos	Pueblo	116
Uintah and Ouray	Ute	121
Southern Navajo	Navajo	135
Pueblo Bonito	Navajo	142
Fort Bidwell	Paiute	165
Pima	Pima	166
Hopi	Hopi	173

Source: Institute for Government Research, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 442–43.

Note: The authors of the Meriam Report essentially reused data from the 1926 *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (*ARCIA*), but not before visiting each of the agencies enumerated and collecting their own data on individual income. The findings of the investigative team from the Institute for Government Research essentially matched the numbers published in the *ARCIA*.

individuals earned between $17 and $142 in 1926. In the same year Hopi individuals earned an average income of $173 (see Table 2.2).

In 1926 the average Navajo worker at Fontana Farms earned $184 for a summer's worth of work, and the average Hopi, $241 (see Table 2.3). Records do not reveal the exact cost of room, board, and transportation to and from Fontana for Sherman student laborers. If we assume, however, that Sherman students paid the one dollar per day charged to white workers, then Hopi student laborers would have earned more in one summer than most Navajo and Hopi people made over the course of a year (see Table 2.2). On the Hopi Mesas ethnographer Edward Kennard noted that men who left the reservation for wage work spent their cash "carefully and sparingly" on flour, sugar, and coffee, all of which could be had for as little as a dollar a month.[54] A few months spent working at Fontana Farms could have provided enough cash to see some Navajo and Hopi families through the better part of a year. A full year's labor likely would have allowed a family to improve

TABLE 2.3. Earnings of Navajo and Hopi Student Laborers at Fontana Farms, 1926

	Median Gross Pay in Dollars	Median Days Worked
All Student Laborers	199	67
Hopi	241	81
Navajo	184	59

Source: Records of Boys Outings, 1912–18, and Time/Pay Worksheets for Outing Pupils, 1917–29, Boxes 115–23, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

its economic standing significantly. To be sure, some students spent their money on modern leisurely pursuits, as Talayesva did with at least a portion of his summer income. Still, the possibility of upward socioeconomic mobility rooted in home culture certainly existed for those who used outing to access jobs and relatively high wages in Southern California.

A deeper look at material conditions and wage labor opportunities on the reservations from which Navajo and Hopi students came supports the notion that these students earned more cash in the outing system than they could have at home. Anthropologists Klara B. Kelley and Peter M. Whiteley noted that during the first three decades of the twentieth century, most Navajo people had yet to access wage labor markets. Instead they most often made their living through some combination of raising livestock, farming, and producing wool, blankets, and handicrafts for the market.[55] Economic strategies depended in large part on local terrain. Navajo families at higher elevations, mostly along the eastern side of the reservation, often pursued dry farming. Those near lowland washes used seasonal rainfalls to irrigate crops. Families residing on the grass-covered steppes, which covered one third of the reservation, relied on livestock. A few Navajos pursued wage labor at agency headquarters such as Fort Defiance, Window Rock, and Tuba City, Arizona, or Shiprock, New Mexico, or in border towns such as Flagstaff and Winslow, Arizona, or Gallup, New Mexico. Most, noted O'Neill, survived on "what they could grow, herd, or weave."[56]

For a young Navajo like Wilbert Douglaclesh, the chance to earn many hundreds of dollars at ranches and farms in Southern California must have seemed like a lucrative opportunity. Where most Navajo families built up their herds slowly and carefully for generations, Douglaclesh and other Navajo students at Sherman had the chance to save large sums of cash, which they could use to purchase livestock outright and immediately. O'Neill has argued that in the first three decades of the twentieth century, the average Navajo

family needed at least one hundred sheep, goats, and cattle in order to survive somewhat comfortably.[57] For Douglaclesh and others, the chance to purchase significant numbers of sheep in short order might have changed the fortunes of a family, either from poverty to livability, or from a small herd to a substantially larger one. Either way, Navajo students who used Sherman Institute to secure work would have found themselves on the vanguard of wage work among their people. Working at Fontana Farms likely allowed Douglaclesh to enlarge his family's sheep herd and, by extension, their wealth and prestige in a way that few other Navajos could have before the mid-1930s.[58]

Hopi students also had good reason to work and earn money in the Sherman outing system. Historian Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert has attributed Hopi participation at the Sherman Institute school farm and in the outing system to the centrality of agriculture within Hopi society and culture. In a tradition that began in ancient times and continues today, life on the Hopi Mesas has long centered on the production of corn. Over millennia, Hopis developed what Sakiestewa Gilbert calls "tried and true" methods in order to successfully coax corn from the ground in spite of arid conditions. Dry farming techniques, along with ceremonies and prayers, helped the corn grow each year. Hopis also grew squash, beans, melons, grapes, peaches, apricots, and wheat and owned livestock.[59] Compared to peers from other tribes, then, Hopi students arrived at Sherman Institute with strong preparation for engaging in farm labor. Talayesva recalled that learning agriculture was a central element in his Hopi education on the Third Mesa: "We followed our fathers to the fields and helped to plant and weed." Talayesva also recalled driving birds and rodents from the field, picking and drying peaches, harvesting melons and corn, and herding sheep. "Learning to work," he boasted, "was like play."[60]

Alongside cultural affinity for agriculture, social and economic conditions on the reservation likely played important roles in pushing Hopi students toward prolonged stints in the outing system. The early twentieth century proved to be a difficult time for the Hopi people. The century started inauspiciously, as the year 1898 saw a terrible smallpox epidemic strike the Hopi Mesas. Over six hundred people fell ill, and 159 died. In 1906, tensions rose at the Third Mesa village of Orayvi over the issue of whether or not to send Hopi children to government boarding schools. Tensions heated into conflict, and so-called resisters left Orayvi to start their own village. To make matters worse, Mormons and other white settlers dammed water on and around the Hopi Reservation, causing land erosion and loss of water.[61]

As hard times came to the Hopi Mesas, few could depend on wage labor to turn their fortunes. Anthropologist Richard O. Clemmer has argued that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, wage labor jobs on the Hopi Reservation were "available, but not abundant."[62] Between 1906 and 1908 a few Hopi laborers worked with Mohave, Navajo, and Pueblo men laying and repairing tracks for the Santa Fe Railroad. Others ventured into the fields of Kansas and Colorado to chop and thin sugar beets. At Moenkopi in 1915, a dozen men worked at freighting, coal mining, and carpentry, among other positions, earning between one and four dollars a day. A few Hopi women worked as domestics in off-reservation cities such as Flagstaff and Winslow. On average they earned between $1.50 and $3 per week. A handful of Hopis from the First Mesa sometimes obtained wage work at the agency, located just eleven miles east at Keams Canyon. These jobs were relatively few, however, and proved inaccessible to Hopis outside the First Mesa. Working from numbers provided by various Moqui Reservation agents to the Office of Indian Affairs during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Clemmer estimated that one third of Hopi subsistence came from wages.[63]

The combination of Hopi prowess in agriculture and a dearth of jobs on or near the reservation meant that relatively few people on the Mesas leaned heavily on wage labor. Alongside Hopi knowledge of agricultural work, a lack of wage labor opportunities on the Hopi Mesas must have made the jobs offered by the Sherman outing system attractive. Regardless of how they perceived outing jobs, Hopis in the outing program worked longer and made more money per capita than students from any other tribal group represented at Sherman Institute.

As historian Cathleen D. Cahill has pointed out, employment of Native Americans within private industry during the early twentieth century remains an underexplored topic.[64] Her statement holds true in the cases of Navajo and Hopi people. The Meriam Report of 1928, however, provides one small window into Navajo wage labor during the 1920s. Investigators from the Brookings Institution interviewed three groups of young Navajo men who had been sent from day schools operated by the Office of Indian Affairs to work in the beet fields of Kansas and Colorado. Investigators found that while the young men had been promised up to two dollars a day in wages, they returned home from their work having netted only nine, twelve, and forty-five cents per day, respectively. Beet field operators paid the boys less than they had promised. After paying out-of-pocket costs for food, lodging, and clothing, the young men had almost nothing to show for over two months of backbreaking work

thinning and chopping sugar beets—work that historian Lisbeth Haas has described as "particularly painful."[65]

Before he came to Sherman Institute, Talayesva spent three months working in the sugar beet fields near Rockyford, Colorado. He worked eleven- and twelve-hour days and earned fifteen cents per hour. "We were divided into groups of eight boys each," he remembered, "and moved from farm to farm, thinning beets during the day and sleeping in tents at night." He had earned forty-five dollars by the end of his stint in Colorado, roughly $1,200 in 2013 dollars. He received only ten dollars; the remainder was sent to his reservation agent.[66] Talayesva earned less for his work in Colorado than he would in California. At fifteen cents per hour, he earned $1.80 per twelve-hour day in the sugar beet fields of Rockyford. At Fontana Farms he earned a flat daily wage of two dollars.[67] Timecards tallied by students from Sherman who worked at Fontana Farms during the second decade of the twentieth century make it appear likely that Talayesva would have worked between eight and ten hours per day at Fontana.[68] Were this the case, he would have made more money in Southern California than he did in Colorado, and for far less work.

Sherman Institute did not record the net wages earned by students on outing during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Outing Agent Long tracked only the total wages earned by student laborers, the one third of total wages paid to them on site, and the two-thirds sent to Sherman Institute for "safe keeping." The failure of investigators from the CCIH to record how much Fontana Farms officials charged for food and lodging makes things even murkier. Still, it appears as though Sherman students who worked for Fontana Farms during the 1920s fared far better than those who toiled in the beet fields of Colorado and Kansas.

If young Navajo and Hopi men had relatively good reason to work more and earn more money than their peers within the outing system, students from California tribes proved more reluctant. In 1932, indigenous Californians at Sherman Institute far outnumbered students from other states, as they likely did throughout the 1920s and early 1930s (see Table 2.4). Yet in 1926, students from California tribes made up less than one tenth of the seventy-five student laborers who spent the summer at the Fontana Farms Company (see Table 2.1). Why did students from California tribes participate at such a low rate?

Deep familiarity with wage labor markets among California's Native peoples likely meant that students knew they could make as much money near their home as they could at outing worksites in Southern California. Students

TABLE 2.4. Sherman Institute Enrollment by State of Origin, 1931

State	Number of Students	Percentage of Enrollment at Sherman Institute
California	514	46
Arizona	358	32
Nevada	68	6
New Mexico	49	4
Utah	49	4
Idaho	32	3
Oregon	20	2
Oklahoma	3	<1
Washington	5	<1
Montana	1	<1
North Dakota	5	<1
South Dakota	2	<1
Wyoming	3	<1

Source: For 1931 school census, see Carl Moore to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Rhoads, January 19, 1931, Box 20, Folder: 4043-1931, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

Note: N = 1,109.

from the Round Valley Reservation in Northern California provide a prime example. Historian William J. Bauer Jr. noted that from the mid-nineteenth century onward, Native peoples at Round Valley carefully engaged local wage labor markets and fit migratory wage work within their cultural worldviews and practices. As Round Valley peoples left the reservation to shear sheep, pick hops, and thresh hay, they used wages to supplement and protect older, subsistence-based economic strategies.[69] For Sherman students from Round Valley, returning home to the reservation in the summer offered the best of both worlds: the chance to work and earn money, and also to be with friends and family. Near the reservation they could thresh and bale hay for between two and three dollars per day—wages similar to those paid for the same work on ranches in Southern California. Given this context, it makes sense that students from Round Valley attempted to go home for the summer rather than work in the outing system.[70]

Native peoples in Southern California had also engaged wage labor markets for well over a century by the time Sherman Institute opened its doors in 1902. In present-day San Diego County, Kumeyaay, Luiseno, and

Cahuilla people drove cattle, sheered sheep, cut and dug irrigation ditches, and harvested fruit, among other jobs.[71] Farther north, in Riverside and San Bernardino counties, Cahuilla, Serrano, and Chemehuevi people engaged seasonal wage labor markets in the agricultural fields of San Bernardino, as well as the Coachella and San Jacinto valleys. In the winter many from these groups followed the seasonal labor circuit to Banning, California, to work in canneries.[72]

If knowledge of wage labor markets played a key role in pulling California Indians homeward during the summer, so too did proximity of their homes to Sherman Institute. For most of the early twentieth century, the Office of Indian Affairs dictated that officials from Sherman Institute could pay transportation costs only for initial journeys to school and final journeys homeward.[73] Even if Sherman administrators and the superintendent from a student's home reservation agreed to allow a student to return home for the summer, the student still had to pay for round-trip transportation. For students from California this did not pose a significant issue; one-way train tickets to relatively far-off places such as Covelo and Round Valley, California, cost roughly fifteen dollars.[74] Students from more remote reservations—Hopis and Navajos, for example—found trips home far more expensive. A ticket from Riverside to Gallup, New Mexico, located just outside the southeastern boundary of the Navajo Reservation, cost thirty-five dollars in 1921, making a visit home at least a seventy-dollar round-trip ticket for students from the eastern half of the reservation. In 2013 dollars, the cost of the trip from the Navajo Reservation would be nine hundred dollars.[75]

This is not to say that wage labor markets did not exist on reservations beyond California, or that work would have been the only thing to draw students home for the summer. Certainly Native people across Indian country found ways to earn cash. Moreover cultural, spiritual, and family obligations brought students home at least as often as wage labor opportunities. Yet if a Sherman student who hailed from an out-of-state reservation wanted to earn money, the combination of Southern California's burgeoning wage labor markets and the high cost of returning home made the outing system a viable option.

Indigenous cultures and reservation economies clearly influenced student approaches to the outing system. But so too did personal circumstances. Hopi student Peter Shelton struggled with academic coursework from the day he arrived at Sherman Institute in June 1921. Before coming to Sherman he had advanced to seventh grade at the day school in his home village of Moencopi,

Arizona.[76] As a student, Shelton excelled when he could use his hands, preferring Sherman's vocational shops and farm fields to its stuffy classrooms. He earned perfect marks in courses on farm implements, crop management, and shoe and harness repair. He struggled, however, to keep his focus in academic courses, and he remained stuck in the seventh grade for his first three years at Sherman Institute.[77]

In June 1923, at the close of his second year at Sherman, Shelton traveled the well-worn path from Riverside to Fontana Farms. After two years of frustration in the classroom he hatched a plan to make the best of his time in Southern California. Rather than suffer through another unproductive year in school, he would use the outing system to work full time and earn money. On June 29, after a month of working at the Declez Hog Camp at Fontana Farms, Shelton informed Superintendent Conser of his plans. "Well I was figuring to stay here all winter," he wrote. "I like to stay here at Fontana because I am over twenty-one years old and also I never pass my grade for two years." Conser quickly denied Shelton's request to work rather than study, arguing that difficulties in the classroom provided "all the more reason you should study while you have the opportunity." Determined to have his way, Shelton quickly penned a second plea to Conser. "I'm too old," he wrote. "That's why I can't learn anything." Conser again denied his request.[78]

The same story played out twice more in the summers of 1924 and 1925, this time from the poultry ranch of S. B. Lowell in Glenavon, California. In June 1925 Shelton again wrote to Conser, this time emphasizing his desire to save money for his eventual return to the Hopi Reservation. "Because I never did pass, this is my fourth year in grade seven," he wrote. "So I'd like to earn a little money before I go home." This time Shelton finally got his wish. He worked through the fall and into February at Lowell Ranch and Fontana Farms Company. In December he married Lily Seumptewa, a Hopi domestic worker living and working in Los Angeles, and moved with her to Flagstaff, Arizona. The cash Shelton earned at the Lowell Ranch and Fontana Farms likely proved crucial when he and Lily moved closer to home and started a family.[79]

Even for students who saw opportunity in the outing system, or at least preferred it to the daily grind of Sherman Institute, things did not always end as envisioned. For Sherman student Chee Gould, wage labor via the outing system began with opportunity and ended in tragedy. A Navajo, Gould came from Toadlena, New Mexico, where he completed three years at the local day school before enrolling at Sherman in 1919 at the age of sixteen. He received low grades in his area of focus, the shoe and harness shop, before turning his

attention to outing labor in 1922.[80] That summer he labored at Fontana Farms alongside sixty other students from Sherman Institute. He worked seventy-five days and earned $176. Although he had signed up to attend Sherman Institute through the school year of 1928, he began working full time in the outing system in 1926. Like his Hopi classmate Peter Shelton, Gould seemed to prefer wage work to classroom work. No longer officially enrolled at Sherman, he continued to work at the Temecula ranch of Walter Martin, a major contractor of Sherman student laborers, until 1929.[81]

Then, on a rainy March night, tragedy struck. Gould had recently purchased a car, and he picked up his girlfriend, a fellow Sherman alum who lived and worked in Los Angeles, to go for a joy ride. Near Temecula the car rolled off the road and caught fire, killing Gould and his sweetheart. Conser sent Long to pick up Gould's belongings and mail them back to his family. Sherman officials laid Gould to rest in Riverside on April 2, 1930, and sent the remainder of his belongings to his family: nine shirts, two pairs of pants, a pair of canvas shoes, and a blanket.[82] The story of Chee Gould represents both the opportunity and the danger faced by students who engaged the outing system for long periods of time. While Gould made significant money, he did so far away from friends and family. He survived the risks of living and working at the boarding school and in agricultural camps. It was another trapping of modernity, the automobile, that ultimately took his life.

Viewed through the many fragmented lenses of the archives, stories of Sherman student laborers at Fontana Farms Company are often hazy at best. Cobbled together from many small pieces of evidence—outing timecards, state labor inspection records, newspapers, and student files—most raise far more questions than they answer. Amorphous as these stories may be, they reveal a wide gap between the aims of federal Indian education and the on-the-ground results of school policies. Indian reformers such as Richard Henry Pratt created federal Indian boarding schools and their outing systems to eliminate indigenous languages and cultures—that much we know. There is more than a little irony, then, in Wilbert Douglaclesh using a boarding school to live in a Navajo way, and in Don Talayesva and Peter Shelton using Hopi knowledge of agriculture as they worked on ranches in Southern California. Historians have argued that boarding schools created a vanguard of Native American political leaders who promoted pan-Indian identities and helped to carry Indian cultures into the twentieth century.[83] Talayesva, Douglaclesh, and Shelton suggest that "ironies of assimilation" filtered beyond high politics and into day-to-day life, and that everyday resistance connected in significant ways with long-term cultural survival.

Lessons to be gleaned from Sherman students who passed through Fontana Farms go beyond disconnects between the abstract ideas of policymakers and the actions of Native people who lived and experienced the technologies of assimilation. Historian Philip J. Deloria has demonstrated how a vanguard of Native people in the early twentieth century "engaged the same forces of modernization that were making non-Indians reevaluate their own expectations of themselves and their society." Not all Indians, argued Deloria, were "corralled on isolated and impoverished reservations," and they did not stand by idly as modernity passed them by. Native people of the early twentieth century traveled. They played professional sports. They acted and sang. They drove cars, sometimes too fast.[84]

In the same way that Native athletes, actors, and drivers in Deloria's work push us to reconsider our expectations of indigenous peoples during the early twentieth century, narratives centered on outing laborers at Fontana Farms should encourage us to reconsider what we know about Native people and boarding schools. Students at Sherman Institute did not remain trapped within the confines of school grounds. To be sure, subpar academic curricula, strict rules, grueling daily routines, and crushing homesickness negatively affected the lives of students. Still, challenges like these did not completely define their experiences. For many, Fontana Farms and its three dollars per day became an important component of navigating life at a boarding school.

As they engaged with the outing system, students combined elements of their cultures with detailed knowledge of federal bureaucracy in order to survive the difficult years of the Reservation Era. Living and working beyond the walls of Sherman Institute, they suffered the same smells, slept and ate in the same crowded quarters, felt the same fatigue, contracted the same devastating diseases as agricultural workers on factory-style farms across the western United States. Like immigrants worldwide, Sherman student laborers worried about balancing work with the demands of home life: to stay and work, or go home and help the family? To put down roots in a new place, or save money and return home? To buy a silk necktie, or send home a remittance?[85] By grappling with these questions, student laborers at Sherman Institute joined the ranks of indigenous peoples across North America who brought new forms of wage labor into their daily lives to carry their communities and cultures through the difficult years of the Reservation Era. In so doing Douglaclesh, Shelton, and the hundreds of other students from Sherman Institute who worked at Fontana Farms forged new and uniquely Native pathways into the twentieth century.

Young men at Fontana Farms were far from the only Native people to face the challenges of wage labor beyond the confines of Riverside and Sherman Institute. Shortly after Talayesva made his first journey to Fontana in 1907, small groups of Mojave and Quechan women, many of them from Sherman Institute, began making their way into Los Angeles to work as domestics in the homes of white Angelenos. These women often faced low pay and tenuous working conditions, and they received little assistance from the tangled web of bureaucracy set up to supervise and protect them as they worked. Yet, like their male counterparts at Fontana Farms and elsewhere, young women from Sherman Institute would manage to collect valuable wages and experiences as they lived and worked beyond school walls.

CHAPTER 3

Into the City

Quechan and Mojave Domestic Workers in Los Angeles

ON THE MORNING OF SEPTEMBER 20, 1916, MRS. STANNARD A. MCNEIL turned her car down West 28th Street and headed for home after a morning filled with errands. As she reached her bungalow between Jefferson and Adams Boulevards, just southwest of downtown Los Angeles, she noticed a strange woman walking briskly down the street. It was the beginning of what McNeil would call "a little unpleasant incident." "Naturally," McNeil wrote later, "I took her for a canvasser." When the woman arrived at her door, McNeil greeted her brusquely: "Before waiting for the usual little speech, I politely informed her that I didn't care for anything today, thank you—without ever having opened the door."[1] McNeil refused to speak with unsolicited visitors. That was that.

Neither politics nor sales drew the strange woman to the doorstep of the McNeil home. The visitor was Orrington Jewett, the outing matron from Sherman Institute. She had come to talk about the maid. Three months earlier, the McNeils had joined a growing trend when they hired Ruth Millard, a fourteen-year-old Quechan from the Fort Yuma Reservation, as live-in domestic help.[2]

Beginning in the early twentieth century, reservation and school superintendents from Truxton Canyon, Arizona, and Fort Yuma, Fort Mojave, and the Colorado River Indian Reservation—all three of which straddled Arizona and California—began sending young women into Los Angeles to labor as domestic workers.[3] These women joined a broader trend, as agency superintendents across the West sent Native women to live and work as domestic workers in Los Angeles, Phoenix, Tucson, Reno, Albuquerque, and other cities. Concerned by the potential for moral and sexual corruption in cities, the Office of Indian Affairs assigned outing matrons to supervise the young women. But the first such employee would not arrive in Los Angeles until 1918. Until then, Sherman Superintendent Frank Conser sent his outing

matron, Jewett, to check periodically on Quechan and Mojave women in Los Angeles.[4]

When Ruth Millard arrived at the McNeil home in June 1916, she joined three other Quechan women working in the neighborhoods to the south and west of downtown Los Angeles. Populated by well-to-do families in Craftsman-style homes, the area saw rapid growth after the Pacific Electric Railway Company constructed east–west railways from downtown to the beaches of Venice and Santa Monica.[5] Bertha Baker became the first Quechan woman to venture into Los Angeles when in 1909 she went to work for the Terriles, who lived on New Hampshire Avenue, three miles north of Millard's place of work. Another Quechan woman, Edith Acquinas, lived with the Brewer family on Crenshaw Boulevard, two and a half miles south and east of Baker. Finally, Quechan domestic Jennie Hawthorne worked for the McCreary family, one mile straight south of Acquinas at 2301 Fifth Avenue. The work sites of these women formed a narrow triangle that stretched five miles west of downtown Los Angeles.[6]

When Jewett knocked at the door of the McNeil home, she came to collect Millard and take her to Sherman Institute, where she would attend school for the academic year. After McNeil refused to open the door, Jewett "answered in a very loud voice that she was Miss Jewett, looking for Ruth Millard." Millard, said Jewett, could no longer work for the McNeil family, as she and Fort Yuma Indian School Superintendent Loson Odle had decided that the young woman would enroll at Sherman Institute in the fall. McNeil "apologized profusely" to Jewett for at first refusing to open the door, noting that Jewett "seemed unable to get over" her anger at initially being turned away.[7]

Soon it was McNeil who became upset, as she did not want to give up her domestic worker. She wrote to Odle that Millard felt "quite unhappy at the thought of leaving." McNeil's feelings, however, seemed to trump those of Millard. "Ruth has been very satisfactory," she said. "She has a nice disposition, and she tries to do just as she is told." McNeil had a child on the way, and she pointed out that it "took quite a little time before one could trust them with a baby." She closed her letter by asking for a replacement, should Millard leave for Sherman Institute. She had good reason to fear losing Millard, even if the young woman had only been "satisfactory": domestic workers were difficult to come by in early-twentieth-century Los Angeles. Laws against Asian immigration had cut off the flow of Chinese menservants, once a primary source of household labor. As the middle class expanded in Los Angeles, families struggled to find workers to cook, clean, and watch their children.[8]

Another patron, Mrs. Brewer, wrote a nearly identical letter to Odle. Jewett had informed Brewer too that her maid, Edith Acquinas, would have to enroll at Sherman Institute in the fall. Apparently unaware of the sixty miles between Los Angeles and Riverside, Brewer said that would be fine, as long as Acquinas returned in the evenings to perform her housework. Jewett replied that Acquinas would henceforth be on outing only during the summer, and that she would attend Sherman full time between September and May. This sent Brewer into a tizzy. She wrote to Odle, "I had Edith for three years, and I was instructed to never return her to the school without an order from you. Edith says she does not know [Jewett] and will not go with her without an order from you." Like McNeil, Brewer ended her letter by simultaneously noting the irreplaceability of her maid and asking for a replacement: "Please, Mr. Odle, write me at once and tell me to *keep* Edith or if there is any reason why I *must* give her up, then will you kindly send me another girl?"[9]

The "little unpleasant incident" between Jewett and McNeil reveals far more than the frustrations of the white women who feared losing their cheap domestic workers. While Odle sometimes called on Jewett to make arrangements for Quechan women, she rarely journeyed from Riverside to Los Angeles. When she arrived at the Brewer household, neither matron nor maid even recognized her. The Native women who labored as domestic workers before 1918 braved the waters of employment in a strange city without help from the Office of Indian Affairs. Yet they developed informal networks with one another to gain at least a modicum of control over their wages and working conditions. In their free time they tapped into a vibrant, intertribal social scene, and many fought to attend public schools in Los Angeles, which proved far superior to the schools run by the Office of Indian Affairs. Despite harsh working conditions and an almost complete lack of supervision, then, Native domestic workers acquired new knowledge and valuable skills and perspectives from outing.

If Native domestic workers demonstrated nuanced understandings of federal bureaucracy and a quick grasp of life in urban Los Angeles, their experiences within the outing system also highlight the limits of their agency. Even after the arrival of an outing matron, domestic service in the city teemed with opportunities for suffering and exploitation, as a series of frazzled, overworked matrons provided minimal protection to the women placed under their care. In the end, those who drew positive outcomes from outing did so despite the shrunken, chronically underfunded bureaucracy of the outing system. Like their male counterparts at Fontana Farms, they created valuable experiences from a system that appeared to offer only demeaning, exploitative labor.

From the beginning, outing work in Los Angeles was deeply tied to Sherman Institute. In the decade before 1918, placements in the city and what little supervision workers received came from Jewett, the school's outing matron, and Conser, the superintendent. This was the case regardless of whether workers attended Sherman or moved to the city directly from the reservation. Those who went straight from their home community to Los Angeles traveled first to Sherman, where they lived in the school dormitories and waited for placements in the city. After the Los Angeles Outing Center opened in 1918, outing matrons in the city worked closely with officials at Sherman to select the young women who would be most suitable for domestic work and to find them placements. By the 1920s, outing officials at Sherman Institute and in Los Angeles collaborated to run a single outing program that covered all of Los Angeles and the Inland Empire, which included Riverside and surrounding cities.[10]

Despite the strong connections between Sherman Institute and outing work in Los Angeles, there exist within the archives relatively few records of Sherman students working in the city. Outing records kept by officials at the Fort Yuma Agency are far more thorough. A series of detailed letters written between Odle and Quechan domestic workers reveal intimate details about life on outing in Los Angeles. Much like the broader body of Native women who worked on outing in Los Angeles, some of these women attended Sherman Institute, some went directly to the city from their home agency at Fort Yuma, and some enrolled at Sherman Institute after working in the city. By 1928, Supervisor of Indian Schools John Holst argued that Fort Yuma had become integrated into the broader system of outing that included Sherman Institute and the Los Angeles Outing Center. The experiences of Quechan domestic workers provide an important case study that suggests possibilities for how the outing system functioned at outing centers across the West.[11]

Located 270 miles south and east of Los Angeles, the Fort Yuma Reservation was at the center of what had been Quechan territory since well before the Spanish arrived in the area during the early seventeenth century. A Yuman-speaking, agricultural people, as many as four thousand Quechans occupied settlements along a hundred-mile stretch of the fertile floodplains of the Colorado River. They controlled the confluence of the Gila and Colorado rivers, which later became Fort Yuma, an important point for crossing the Colorado on the overland route from Mexico to California, and they dealt with a growing tide of Spanish newcomers from 1604 onward. The U.S. government established a presence in the area during the mid-nineteenth century, and starting in 1865, government officials pushed for the Quechans to join the Mojaves at the

FIG 3.1. Young women at Sherman Institute prepare for outing by taking care of the children of Sherman employees, n.d. Photo courtesy of the Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, CA.

Colorado River Reservation, located ninety miles to the north. The Quechans refused, and in 1884 they negotiated for a twenty-four-thousand-acre reservation on the California side of the Colorado River. Quechans who had lived at outlying settlements slowly trickled onto the reservation until 1910, when the 834 Quechans on the reservation composed the vast majority of those still living in the area.[12]

Allotment came to the Fort Yuma Reservation in 1912, when each Quechan residing on the reservation received a ten-acre plot. The Office of Indian Affairs put excess land up for sale to the general public, and legal loopholes abrogated a process whereby allotted lands would be held by the federal government for twenty-five years following allotment. These actions caused the Quechans to lose 80 percent of their land before World War II. While many Quechans took individual possession of potentially productive lands within the floodplain of the Colorado River, they struggled to farm successfully because of the small size of their allotments, and because they were forced to pay for irrigated water that had earlier been promised to them free of charge. Despite the advantage

of holding onto relatively productive lands, the Quechans found themselves in a state of economic underdevelopment that had become endemic across Indian country.[13]

Alongside allotment, sending Quechans to live and work in white-owned households became a second way to assimilate Quechans and absolve the government of its obligations to them. Just as Harwood Hall and Frank Conser believed that outing labor would rid students at Sherman Institute of their cultures, Fort Yuma Superintendent Odle argued that living and working with white families in Los Angeles and Yuma and attending public schools would steep Quechan women in the mores and customs of white, Protestant America. Sharing in Richard Henry Pratt's emphasis on the power of the environment to transform Native people, he argued that time spent working in Los Angeles prepared young Quechan women to become "the people . . . the Yuma Indians will have to look up to" and that, conversely, time spent on the reservation had a negative affect on the character of young Quechans.[14]

When Bertha Baker went to work for the Terriles in 1909, she became the frontrunner in a trend that came to define the lives of many young women from Fort Yuma between 1909 and 1930. Most who found work in the city were between the ages of fourteen and twenty, and many attended the Fort Yuma Indian School or Sherman Institute. While a majority of Quechan women worked in Yuma, significant numbers made their way to Southern California. Many years during the early twentieth century saw every unmarried Quechan woman on the reservation engage in domestic labor. In 1913, for example, five of the twenty-six Quechan women who engaged in domestic work did so in Los Angeles, with the remainder working in Yuma.[15]

As the summer of 1916 came to a close, a handful of Quechan women worked in the city. In the absence of an outing matron, Odle relied on Baker to facilitate the movement of Quechan women from reservation to Los Angeles and back. More importantly, Odle had Baker intervene when problems arose between Quechan domestic workers and their employers. One such problem arose in the winter of 1916, when Mary Durand butted heads with her employers, the McCrearys. Mrs. McCreary complained to Odle that Durand used foul language and that she could not be trusted to take care of the McCrearys' young son. She would have to be replaced.[16]

When Baker heard about Durand's troubles, she already had a new employer in mind. A few weeks earlier Baker had met Mrs. Johnson, a woman from Santa Monica who wanted to hire a Quechan domestic worker. As soon as Odle caught wind of the rift between Durand and her employers, he wrote to Baker

and asked her to find Durand a new place to work.[17] Baker promptly arranged for Johnson and Durand to meet at the Hill Rail Station on Fourth Avenue. For reasons unknown, Durand never showed up. She finally transferred to the Harris household in spring 1917.[18] Later, Baker facilitated successful changes of venue for fellow Quechans and domestic workers Gertrude Smith and Edith Acquinas when the two ceased to get along with their employers.[19]

Baker's position as an intermediary within the outing system illustrates both the power and the peril of domestic labor for Quechan women in early-twentieth-century Los Angeles. More than any bureaucrat, she sought to help her friends and relatives escape their employers when a working environment turned sour. She also brandished one of the few negotiating tactics available to domestic workers when she shared wage information with fellow workers in order to coordinate a campaign for higher wages.[20] For all of her skill in cultivating new employers for dissatisfied Quechan domestic workers, however, Baker lacked the authority to enforce any proposed changes. Baker, then, could do little to alter the fundamental flaw of the earliest version of the outing system in Los Angeles: when problems arose, Quechan women had little recourse but to write a letter to Odle and wait for help to arrive. Most often, it never came. As historian Margaret Jacobs has noted, even small battles won by Native domestic workers against negligent employers were firmly embedded within an exploitative labor system that aimed to eradicate Native cultures.[21]

The struggles of Quechan domestic Gertrude Smith illustrate the vulnerability experienced by Quechan women in Los Angeles. Smith began working for the McNeil family in 1916. Two months into her job she wrote Odle to register a bevy of complaints against her new employers. "They always leave me here with the baby till eleven or twelve o'clock in the night," she wrote. "I don't hardly have enough sleep, and that makes me feel nervous. It's eleven o'clock, and here I am, sitting up again." Smith went on to complain that her wage of nine dollars per month did not compensate her fairly, considering the difficulty of her work. Would it be possible, she asked, to be placed with a new employer?[22]

McNeil learned about Smith's complaints against her, and she wrote to Odle to defend herself. She claimed that Smith had no reason to feel tired, as she "never got up before seven o'clock" and performed her work "at the speed of an Indian." Interestingly, McNeil did not deny leaving Smith alone at night, admitting that she often had her "sleep in the room with my little boy, seventeen months old," while she and her husband went out on the town. Smith received no help, and in February she wrote again to request a change of venue. Her

second effort proved more successful. In late June she began working nearby for the Van Dam family.[23]

Jennie Hawthorne endured a similar experience when she worked for the McCreary family. Writing in August 1916, she informed Odle that the McCrearys took a two-week vacation to Big Bear, a resort town northeast of Los Angeles in the San Bernardino Mountains. Apparently unconcerned with their responsibility to aid Hawthorne in her "uplift," the McCrearys left her alone in Los Angeles. Shortly after they left town, Hawthorne reported, a man came to the door and asked her "to go out with him." She declined, telling him that she "did not come to Los Angeles to run around . . . and if you come around here again I will phone the police."[24]

The strange man never reappeared. Still, loneliness and worry plagued Smith and Hawthorne as they sat up at night in dark, empty houses, hundreds of miles from home. The solitude they experienced highlights an important point: during the first ten years of the outing system in Los Angeles, employers got away with egregious breaches of their duty in supervising Native domestic workers. Both the Harris and McCreary families understood that their employees had little recourse when left alone for long stretches. Baker sometimes found new employers for her fellow Quechans when they grew frustrated over working conditions or pay, but she had no authority to enforce any changes of venue. Smith and Hawthorne did the only thing they could: write a letter to their reservation superintendent. By mail, investigation of the accusations took months. In the interim, the two women spent long days watching after screaming children and long nights waiting for their employers to return home from their late-night social activities. They performed this arduous work in environments made tense by alternating periods of conflict and isolation.

If isolation threatened young women working on outing, so too did male household members. Six years before Edith Acquinas began working for the Brewers in 1916, the family's son was accused of impregnating their Hualapai domestic worker. The Brewers vehemently denied the charge, calling it "a piece of spite work" and arguing that they had "proof that a Jap was the father of the child." Yet they agreed to pay the woman twenty-five dollars each month until her child reached eighteen years of age. News of these allegations apparently did not travel the 230 miles from the Hualapai Agency at Truxton Canyon to Fort Yuma. By 1916 the Brewers had secured the services of Acquinas. Truxton Canyon Indian School Superintendent Charles Shell informed Odle of the allegations against the Brewer family in October 1916. It took Odle a full two months before he finally sent Jewett to remove Acquinas from the Brewer household.[25]

The Brewer episode reveals the depth of the sexual vulnerability faced by Quechan women in Los Angeles. For nearly a decade after Baker's arrival in the city, domestic workers from the Fort Yuma Agency, the Colorado River Agency, and Sherman Institute worked virtually unsupervised in the city. During these years the Office of Indian Affairs could not even pretend to protect Native domestic workers from threats of violence. While the archives do not contain any additional instances of sexual abuse or pregnancy among these women, a lack of documentation does not necessarily mean that no other cases occurred.

The Office of Indian Affairs attempted to rectify its lack of supervision in 1918, when it hired Matilda Ewing as an outing matron in the city. Ewing occupied a two-room bungalow at 1144 South Westlake Avenue in the Pico-Union neighborhood, just south and west of downtown. Between 1918 and 1931, four matrons lived in a series of "outing cottages" along the western side of Los Angeles's downtown core (see Table 3.1). With an outing matron in the city, superintendents at Sherman Institute, the Fort Yuma Agency, and the Colorado River Agency sent more women than ever to live and work within the supposedly uplifting confines of white households in Los Angeles.

The establishment of an outing center in Los Angeles was part of a broader expansion of the outing system into urban areas across the West. The Office of Indian Affairs appointed an outing matron in Phoenix in 1907, and another followed in Tucson in 1914. Outing matrons went to Los Angeles and Berkeley in 1918, and to Carson City and Albuquerque the next year.[26] High demand for domestic laborers in cities of the western United States during the early twentieth century fueled the growth of urban outing systems during the 1920s. In cities on the West Coast, a rapidly expanding middle class found relatively few women available for domestic work. Far from the eastern ports that provided steady streams of immigrant workers and cut off from Asian laborers by a series of anti-immigration laws, the booming cities of the western United States faced frequent labor crunches during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Moreover, the growth of employment opportunities for women in offices, shops, and factories drew increasing numbers of women away from domestic labor. During the early twentieth century, middle-class families on the urban West Coast clamored for domestic workers. The Office of Indian Affairs sent Native women into this void.[27]

If employers actively sought out Native domestic workers, the women chose to work, often with alacrity. Victoria K. Haskins has shown how Tohono O'odham women developed networks of domestic employment in Tucson long before the Office of Indian Affairs attempted to regulate and control their

TABLE 3.1. Outing Matrons in Los Angeles, 1918–1934

Matron	Years
Matilda Ewing	1918–22
Grace Viets	1922–23
Rilla DePorte	1923–26
Frances Hall	1926–34

Sources: Personal Statement of Employee, Personnel File for Matilda Ewing, NPRC; Record of Service, Personnel File for Matilda Ewing, NPRC; Record of Service, Personnel File for Grace Viets, NPRC; Personal History of Employee in Indian Service, Personnel File for Rilla DePorte, NPRC; Personal History of Employee in Indian Service, Personnel File for Frances Hall, NPRC.

work.[28] The same was likely true in Los Angeles and the San Francisco Bay Area. By the time the outing center opened in Los Angeles in 1918, Quechan and Mojave women had already developed intimate knowledge of where and how to secure domestic work in the city. These women could, and often did, arrange employment beyond the purview of any outing matron or reservation superintendent.

While each matron in Los Angeles took her own approach to supervising hundreds of Native women spread across a vast and rapidly growing metropolis, all four shared a common set of duties. Their work began in early spring, arranging interviews and home inspections with prospective patrons. During peak season in late spring they inspected as many as fifty households. When classes ended at boarding schools, they spent hundreds of hours arranging for travel as Native women from across the Southwest made their way to Los Angeles in groups as large as seventy. Once the domestic workers took their posts, the outing matrons visited them so that they could "know the conditions" under which they worked. They made house calls at all hours to soothe the homesick, defuse runaway plots, and discourage romances that went beyond the boundaries of acceptability set forth by the Office of Indian Affairs. With no car provided by the Indian Office, they carefully timed each journey as they traveled by rail or bus.[29]

The Office of Indian Affairs also expected the outing matrons to provide assistance to any Native person in Los Angeles who needed help, whether or not he or she participated in the outing system. In 1928 and 1931, Outing Matron Frances Hall found places of work for 109 and 100 women, respectively, who came to Los Angeles without any formal affiliation to the outing center. "Any Indian girl or woman who comes into the city alone . . . many times it is necessary for me to take them to my home and get in touch with their friends or people,

MAP 3.1. After 1909, domestic workers placed by the Office of Indian Affairs worked in the neighborhoods west of Downtown Los Angeles. Beginning in 1918, the Office of Indian Affairs operated a series of outing centers there.

or provide work for them. This," reported Hall, "is a big step toward protection for these girls and women coming into the city alone." Matrons also assisted Native people as they navigated state and municipal courts. By the early 1930s, Hall helped between forty and fifty people with legal troubles each year.[30]

After days spent crisscrossing Los Angeles, matrons returned home to hours of phone calls and paperwork. Following a vestige of the outing system as it operated under Pratt at Carlisle, matrons collected two-thirds of the paychecks earned by domestic workers and sent the money to home agencies or boarding schools for deposit. By the late 1920s, Hall forwarded as much as two thousand dollars in wages each month. Besides tracking wages, she penned an average of fifteen letters and spent between two and six hours on the telephone each day. In October 1929 she wrote her supervisor, "It is a very difficult matter to assign the girls, give needed information to the patrons, and keep data in my office at the same time. . . . But it must be done."[31] In addition, matrons often hosted social events and chaperoned field trips to locations such as Catalina Island. Following a schedule common to most domestic workers in the United States and Western Europe, Native women working in Los Angeles often received time

off on Sunday and Thursday afternoons, and on those days matrons opened the outing cottage so that they could gather and socialize. Matrons also nursed Native domestic workers when they fell ill, and many women spent nights at the outing cottage when they transitioned between employers.[32]

Each year before 1931, matrons in Los Angeles took on these responsibilities for a growing number of Native domestic workers. Matilda Ewing went from supervising a handful of young women in 1918 to watching over eighty women in 1921.[33] By 1928, Frances Hall worked frantically to keep track of 326 domestic workers in Los Angeles, with 119 of them working in the city full time and attending school there. The onset of the Depression cut into the number of jobs available. Two hundred fifty Native women worked in the city in the winter of 1931, and of these, 150 received placements through the outing program; the remainder found their own work but still received support from Hall.[34] This steady growth meant the program outgrew three cottages during the 1920s.[35]

If new outing cottages provided more space, they did not reduce the workload of the matrons who lived in them. In 1921, Ewing reported that she often took telephone calls from disgruntled workers and their employers from five in the morning until midnight. "Unless I had breakfast by five or earlier," she wrote, "I ate mostly on the way to and from the phone." Visits to domestic workers were made increasingly difficult by what Ewing called "the remarkably rapid" growth of Los Angeles in the early 1920s.[36] By 1922 she struggled to keep track of where the women worked, how much they earned, and when they would return to their home communities. She even admitted to placing students "in homes that she knew nothing of." Seeking a lighter workload for Ewing, the Indian Office transferred her to the Santa Fe Indian School, where she became head matron. Overworked and overmatched, Ewing could no longer take adequate care of the workers on her watch.[37]

Ewing's successors would fare much the same. Before arriving in Los Angeles, Grace Viets had held multiple positions with the Indian Office, including posts at the Choctaw and Chickasaw Sanatorium in Talahina, Oklahoma, and the East Farm Sanatorium in Phoenix. Viets took quickly to the position, but after two long stints working in sanatoriums, she struggled with chronic tuberculosis. Her health took a drastic turn in January 1923, just three months after taking her new position. She died in March at the age of forty-two.[38]

Rilla DePorte replaced Viets in May 1923. DePorte took her new post at the Los Angeles Outing Center after three years working as a teacher at Sherman Institute.[39] Her tenure saw a steady growth in the number of Native domestic workers in Los Angeles.[40] Where deteriorating health ended the tenures of

FIG 3.2. Los Angeles Outing Matron Rilla DePorte (Sac and Fox). In 1923 DePorte became the first Native employee to assume control of the Los Angeles Outing Center. Photo courtesy of the National Personnel Records Center, St. Louis, MO.

Ewing and Viets, political forces led to DePorte's transfer. Harwood Hall, the former superintendent of Sherman Institute, retired from his post as superintendent at Chemawa Indian School in Salem, Oregon. He had powerful connections after four decades in the upper echelons of the Indian Office. Before retiring he secured the position of outing matron for his wife, Frances, who had worked as a matron wherever he was posted.[41] The DePortes coordinated a letter writing campaign to their congressional representatives, but to no avail. Rilla served the remainder of her career in the Indian Office as an embittered clerk in the Irrigation Division.[42]

Even with her wealth of experience in the Office of Indian Affairs, Frances Hall could not overcome the stark challenges of operating the outing center virtually on her own. Placing and supervising hundreds of young women across Los Angeles and working on behalf of Native people already in the city took its toll. To make matters worse, her husband died suddenly of a stroke.[43] By the summer of 1928, she had reached a breaking point. She needed more money and more support from the Office of Indian Affairs. In October she penned a bitter plea to John H. Holst, the new supervisor of Indian schools, insisting that it would be "impossible . . . to convey on paper anything like the *scope* of my work." Yet she tried. "My work is increasing all the time," she wrote. "When I consider the responsibility I carry all alone, and the long hours I work, I wonder how I have held up physically as well as I have." Hall earned eighty-five dollars per month, while social workers for the City of Los Angeles made between two hundred and three hundred dollars per month, and for far less work. "This very meager salary," she wrote, would no longer do. She asked for another full-time employee and extra money for hosting social gatherings for domestic workers, the cost of which had "counted up considerable out of my small salary."[44] Her campaign for increased support of the outing center bore at least some fruit, as she received $1,200 per year to hire additional help.[45] Still, it was not enough. Hall continued notifying the Indian Office that she did not have the resources to host women at the outing center, and that she needed an extra forty dollars per month to hire a housekeeper. The money never came.[46]

Hall's steady stream of requests for more support did little to alter the fundamental shortcomings of outing in Los Angeles. She and her predecessors had no guns, and they took no prisoners. They had no desire to punish or harm the Native women with whom they worked. On the contrary, they believed wholeheartedly that time spent in Los Angeles would uplift their Native wards by preparing them to live among the urban, white, Protestant majority. Yet the results of their work often proved tragic. Matrons worked frantically, day and

FIG 3.3. Los Angeles Outing Matron Frances Hall. A seasoned veteran of the Office of Indian Affairs, Hall worked tirelessly from her outing cottage on West Normandie Boulevard. Photo courtesy of the National Personnel Records Center, St. Louis, MO.

night, and yet they could provide little guidance and little protection to the hundreds of women spread across the west side of Los Angeles. In the end, then, a system designed to improve young Native women only placed them at risk. The outing matrons lost their health and sanity as they tried desperately to operate a massive employment agency without help. Nobody won.[47]

The struggles of Frances Hall and her predecessors reveal yet another disconnect between policies set forth by the Indian Office and what actually happened on the ground. The Office of Indian Affairs proclaimed that it sought to impart to Native women the values of white, Protestant womanhood by sending them to live and labor in upper-middle-class households. But like every other element of the colonial project administered by the Office of Indian Affairs, the outing system quickly became badly underfunded and poorly operated,

so much so that the outing matrons charged with overseeing Native domestic workers could not have claimed to have the slightest idea about the lessons learned and the challenges faced by the women under their watch. Much as it did for the young men who worked at Fontana Farms and elsewhere, outing for domestic workers in Los Angeles ultimately gave its participants relatively little that would propel them toward equal footing with white Protestants. Instead, domestic work in Los Angeles conveyed to young Native women that if and when they chose to leave behind their reservation community, they would enter the non-Native world at the bottom of the working class.[48]

Matrons employed by the Office of Indian Affairs failed to mitigate the risks and dangers faced by Native women as they lived and worked in the city. But even if the Indian Office had bestowed more resources on the outing system in Los Angeles, flaws would have remained. Homesickness stood out among these challenges. The sadness of being far from home and loved ones ran steadily through correspondences written by Native domestic workers in Los Angeles. Most women lived and worked in Los Angeles because they wanted to. Still, Quechan domestic workers often lobbied their reservation superintendent to return home and visit loved ones. The results of their efforts often depended upon the whims of Superintendent Odle. Convinced that time spent back on the reservation would cause young women to backslide from the supposedly civilizing benefits of outing labor, Odle was reluctant to allow them to visit home. When he did allow home visits, Odle forced them to spend their nights at the Fort Yuma Boarding School, away from family. Located on the south side of the reservation atop Fort Yuma Hill, the school would have put young women just beyond the reach of their friends and family members. Looking north from the windows of the dormitory building, they would have seen mountains sacred to the Quechan people—Pilot Knob, Pichacho, and Castle Dome, among others—and the flickering lights and campfires of their friends and relatives at Fort Yuma's main village site, located two miles to the north. Moreover, Odle required Quechan domestic workers to pay the roundtrip fare between Los Angeles and Yuma. The trip from Los Angeles took ten hours by rail, and it cost between twenty and thirty dollars during the 1910s and 1920s—at least a full month's wages for most women. When Quechan domestic Edith Acquinas secured permission to travel home to Fort Yuma, it must have felt bittersweet. An expensive train ticket and twenty hours of travel bought her daytime visits with her family, and nights spent just beyond the reach of the people and places she loved.[49]

While young women who visited home while on outing faced serious challenges, many managed to maintain a degree of agency by sidestepping

regulations set forth by the Office of Indian Affairs. In August 1919, Quechan domestic worker Mary Durand left her employers, the McNeil family, to visit her ailing grandmother at Fort Yuma. She refused to follow the conditions for home visits set by Odle. Shortly after arriving home, she stopped spending her nights at the boarding school. Moreover, she stretched her two-week visit to nearly two months before returning to work.[50]

Others simply left their jobs to visit friends and family rather than engage in the bureaucratic back-and-forth required to gain official permission from administrators. In March 1937, Mojave domestic worker Henrietta Laffoon left her job in Los Angeles to visit a friend in Prescott, Arizona. Laffoon chose not to ask permission from Clyde Gensler, the superintendent of the Colorado River Reservation, and wait weeks for a verdict. Instead she packed a bag and told her employers that she would be back in a few weeks. A friend accompanied her to the Greyhound station, where she boarded a bus to Parker, Arizona, to visit her parents before continuing on to Prescott. Only after arriving in Prescott did Laffoon call to notify Kathrynn Von Hinzmann, the social worker responsible for her supervision in Los Angeles, of her whereabouts. Asked why she departed so suddenly, Laffoon replied that she "just wanted to go." For Laffoon, escape proved as simple as a bus ticket.[51]

For those who chose to secure permission before leaving jobs in the city to visit home, the threat of running away often became a valuable chip in the negotiation process. Quechan domestic worker Victoria Jeager visited Los Angeles Outing Matron Grace Viets in October 1922. Jeager wanted to see her family at the Fort Yuma Reservation, and she informed Viets that she would travel home whether or not she received permission. A day later, Viets wrote to Odle and suggested that he grant Johnson permission to visit home. "I am afraid if she is not permitted to go," wrote Viets, "she will run away." A short time later Jeager received permission to visit her family.[52]

While Native domestic workers in Los Angeles during the first decades of the twentieth century faced significant challenges, life in the city was far from all bad. Even if Quechan women found themselves in positions of little power as they entered the world of domestic work, many saw benefits in living and working in urban Southern California. Jennie Hawthorne angled to stay full time in the city in August 1916. She began a letter to Odle by assuring him that she enjoyed her time in Los Angeles: "By golly you just don't know how happy I am over here!" Hawthorne informed Odle that upon arriving in the city, she "was never homesick" and that she preferred the cool nights of Los Angeles to the scalding heat and ever-present dust of southwestern Arizona. "Every time

I think of Yuma," she wrote, "I sneeze for a while."[53] Bertha Baker felt much the same. In June 1916 she informed Odle that she would not visit her family at the end of August, and that she preferred instead to take a vacation with her employers at the beach in Ocean Park, California. A year later Baker again spent August in Ocean Park with her employers. This time she expressed her love of the beach even more clearly. "I am very glad," she wrote, "that I did not go to Yuma and roast."[54]

Quechan women cited more than picture-perfect weather as reasons for remaining in the city. Hawthorne informed Odle that time spent working in Los Angeles had vastly improved her grip on the English language. "I do not wish to go back," she wrote. "I am learning more English down here than I did in school [at Fort Yuma]. I tried very hard down there, believe me." Hawthorne held up her friend and fellow domestic worker Ruth Millard as an example of the language skills gained on outing: "She never talked English when someone asked her something. Now she can talk good English."[55] Quechan domestic worker Frances Sheridan made a similar point. Even though life in Los Angeles could get "kind of lonesome," Sheridan argued that "it is wise for us to be away from home once in a while," as they could "learn how to do some things that we don't get in school."[56]

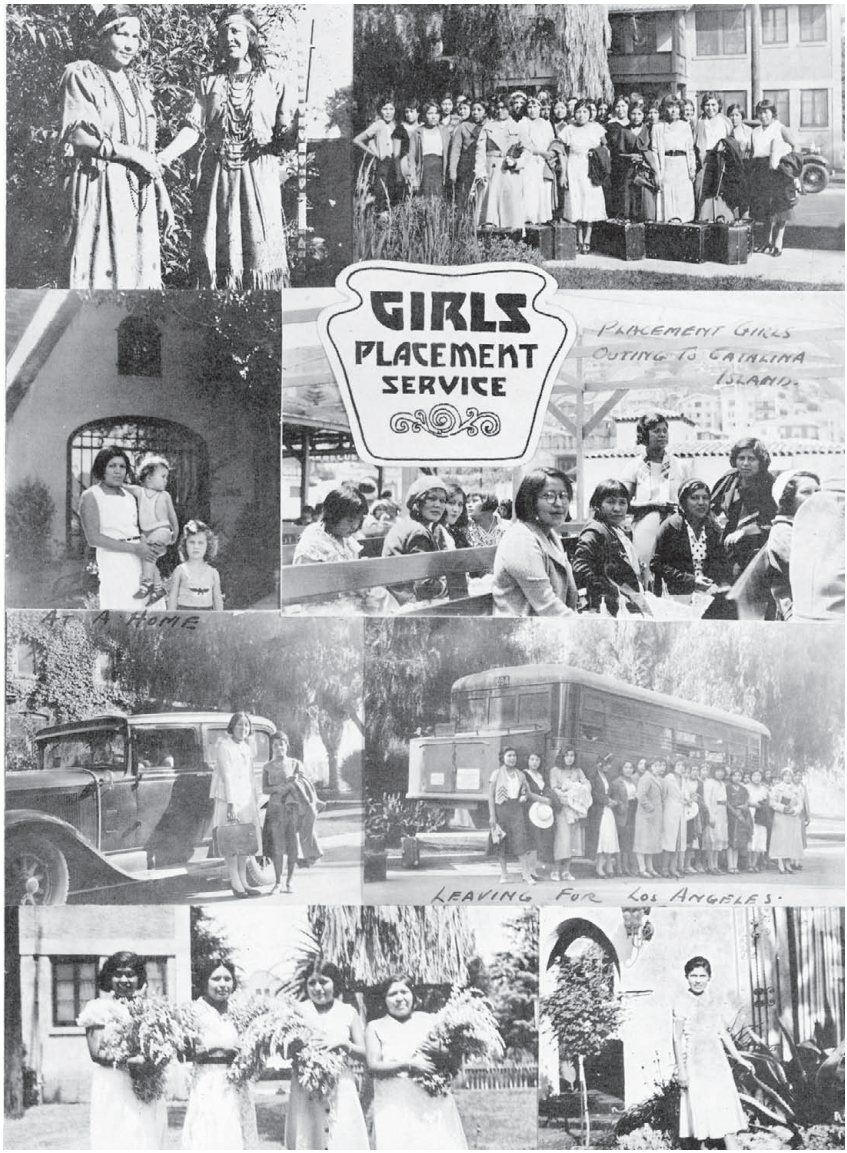
By highlighting the skills gained on outing, Hawthorne and Sheridan engaged in the kind of uplift rhetoric that they heard from Odle and others in the Office of Indian Affairs in order to remain in Los Angeles. Odle in particular preferred to keep young Quechan women on outing. Writing to Baker, he congratulated her for staying year-round in Los Angeles. He "wished all of our larger girls were there" and was sure that time spent on outing made Quechan women "a credit to their people." Writing to the employer of another Quechan domestic worker, Odle warned that there "was nothing for her" at Fort Yuma and that she should keep working in Los Angeles rather than return.[57] Officials at the Office of Indian Affairs gave even more effusive praise to the positive power of life and work in the city. Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs Edgar B. Merritt boasted that the outing system helped to remove young women from "the restraining influence of the government boarding school." Outing, he said, helped Quechan domestic workers to "enter the life and experience of the world at large" and to "cope with . . . new problems when she will come into contact with people and conditions of a different type."[58] As Hawthorne and Smith requested to stay in Los Angeles, then, they showed a keen grip of the ideology that undergirded the outing system and the language that bureaucrats used to describe and operate it.

During the mid-1920s, attending public school became an important component of the outing program. Los Angeles public schools proved far superior to those run by the Office of Indian Affairs, and many women seized the opportunity to live full time in the city and attend schools there. These women attended classes during the day and performed domestic labor on nights and weekends in return for room, board, and a small wage. Most enrolled in junior high, despite being relatively advanced in age. Outing Matron Frances Hall inspected prospective schools and consulted with teachers and administrative staff regarding appropriate grade placements. Once she deemed a school satisfactory, she placed at least two women there in hopes that they might support one another until they made other friends.[59]

Hall displayed unabashed enthusiasm for what she saw as the transformative powers of public schooling for young Native people. In September 1929 she informed Supervisor of Indian Education Carl Moore that she had over fifty young women working full time and attending public schools in the city. "I wish," she wrote, "I had twice that many." Echoing Pratt's environmentalist ideas, Hall proclaimed that time spent in public school "changes the girl and places her where she has a much broader vision and an entirely different outlook. She learns from the close contact with other students." Hall also marveled "at the fast development of self confidence in our Indian girls, and their ability to fit into the environment when attending public schools."[60]

Alluding to one of the primary barriers to placing Native students into public schools near reservation communities, Hall proclaimed that there was "no race prejudice at all" toward Native students in the classrooms of Los Angeles.[61] She also touted financial savings from sending Native domestic workers to public schools. As of 1928, Los Angeles public schools received no assistance from the federal government for enrolling American Indian students, yet they did not charge them tuition.[62] Hall turned this to her advantage, bragging to her superiors that enrolling Native students in public schools for the year 1927–28 had saved the Office of Indian Affairs an estimated $7,500—over five times Hall's salary of $1,380.[63]

The push to send Native women to public schools in Los Angeles fit within a larger trend. Boarding schools came under increasing scrutiny after the turn of the twentieth century, with legislators and activists criticizing them as expensive relics that featured antiquated curricula. For many, including education expert Will Carson Ryan, public schools provided a solution. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Rhoads appointed Ryan as director of education for the Office of Indian Affairs in 1930, and Ryan attempted to streamline relationships



(a)

FIG 3.4. (a) Young women on outing, 1933. (b) Social outings to the beach were particularly alluring for young Quechan women who sought outing work in Los Angeles. Images courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

(b)

between states and the federal government in order to ease the process of sending Native people to public schools.[64]

If the politics of the Indian Service led Hall to tout the benefits of placing Native domestic workers in public schools, high participation rates among the workers suggest that Native women also saw benefits to attending school in Los Angeles the whole year round. Between 1927 and 1931, the number of women attending school in the city hovered between fifty and one hundred (table 3.2). Native domestic workers asked to attend public schools and remain year-round in the city as early as 1924. Isabel Webb, a Quechan woman working in Hollywood, couched her request in the language of logistics: "Just want to know if I can stay here and take public school here, so that I am not going back to Yuma just to come back in the summer." As the summer of 1924 came to a close, seven of Webb's fellow domestic workers wrote Odle to ask if they could remain in the city rather than return to Fort Yuma or Sherman Institute.[65] Two years later, Mojave domestic worker Edith Woods wrote to Sherman Institute Superintendent Conser in hopes of securing another year of working and attending school in the Los Angeles suburb of Glendale. Woods highlighted the benefits of public school. "I am doing very well in my school work here, and I am very much interested in all of my subjects that I take," she wrote. "My shorthand seems to be getting very easy for me, and so is my typing." To emphasize the quality of her education in the city, Woods astutely pointed to the professional presentation of her correspondence. Where most students scratched out their letters in longhand, Woods typed hers. "It's not so very hard," she wrote, "but it takes practice."[66]

Even if domestic workers smartly played to assimilationist rhetoric as they maneuvered to remain on outing year-round, their emphasis on learning new language skills and cultural perspectives should not be dismissed as mere jockeying. For many women, Los Angeles offered the chance to learn new skills that would benefit both themselves and their people. Anthropologist Renya K. Ramirez has argued that for many Native people a city can act as "a hub of peoples' new ideas, information, culture, community, and imagination." Ramirez contended that indigenous people in cities have shared new knowledge and perspectives with reservation communities, helping to "strengthen and reinvigorate" Native cultures and identities.[67] While Ramirez wrote about contemporary issues, her ideas provide a valuable perspective on Quechan women in Los Angeles during the early twentieth century. At the very least, fluency in English helped these women to acquire domestic work in Los Angeles or Yuma. Moreover, a better understanding of white, Protestant cultural mores and practices

TABLE 3.2. Domestic Workers Attending School in Los Angeles

	Women in Public Schools	Number of Public Schools	Women in Postsecondary Schools
1927–28	77	19	23
1928–29	100	25	
1929–30	57	24	13
1930–31	51		

Sources: John H. Holst to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, November 12, 1928, Box 1, Coded Correspondence Records of Supervisor Holst, 1928–29, Folder: Outing Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB; Frances Hall to Carl Moore, September 30, 1929, and Carl Moore to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Rhoads, January 26, 1931, Box 3, Administrative Subject Records, 1929–32, Folder: Outing Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB.

likely positioned them to help their families and communities navigate cultural and political changes during the early twentieth century. Odle may have been speaking the company line when he asserted that the outing system would make Quechan women into "leaders among their people." In more ways than one, however, this assertion probably contained a grain of truth.[68]

At least some Quechan parents shared their daughters' positive assessment of the outing system. In a letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, Odle noted that while Quechan parents often "did not look favorably" on sending their children to off-reservation boarding schools, they were "very much in sympathy with the girls going on the outing system to learn to keep house, cook, and perform other domestic duties."[69] In July 1934, a Mojave woman named Mina Reynolds wrote to Colorado River Reservation Superintendent Clyde Gensler in search of information about outing in Los Angeles. She informed Gensler that she planned to travel with her daughter to Los Angeles, where the two would seek domestic employment together.[70]

Historians and Native autobiographers have found that students at boarding schools often took great joy in earning and spending money via the outing system.[71] Quechan women who worked in Los Angeles fit into this trend. Victoria Jeager began working in Los Angeles at the Terrile home in September 1921. For her first three months she received one-third of her eighteen dollars per month, with the remainder going into her bank account at Fort Yuma. "Of course," wrote Jeager, "I couldn't really get anything I wanted with six dollars." After saving assiduously for three months, she quickly spent all the money she had on hand: a dress for $12.50, a pair of new shoes for $5, and a pair of stockings for

$1.25. If Jeager expressed happiness at the prospect of wearing new clothing, her letter also revealed the constraints of an outing system that allowed laborers only one-third of their wages. She wrote to Odle that her shopping trip left her "flat broke" and that she still needed more items. "It feels funny when everybody wears a hat, and I go without it," she wrote, noting that she also needed to buy Christmas gifts for her family. Odle did not forward Jeager any money from her bank account, electing instead to have her employers front her a few dollars. "Your lady will help you get a hat," he wrote. "If you have any money coming for the first of the month you can have that."[72] Limited control of her wages meant that Jeager had to pull bureaucratic strings in order to purchase both modern pleasures and basic necessities.

Like Jeager, most domestic workers in Los Angeles received paltry wages. During the second decade of the twentieth century, Quechan domestic workers in Los Angeles made between fifteen and twenty dollars per month.[73] Throughout the 1920s average monthly wages climbed above twenty dollars, and more experienced women made as much as thirty dollars per month. The economic depression of the 1930s saw wages fall again. By 1934, most young women from Sherman Institute who worked on outing had difficulty earning more than twelve dollars per month.[74] Cost of living, including clothing, recreation, and visits home, often cut into these meager earnings. In the summer of 1925, for example, ten Quechan women spent the summer working on outing in Los Angeles. None managed to save the equivalent of one month's wages.[75] Time spent in Los Angeles may have helped Quechan women to improve their English skills and gain better understanding of white, Protestant culture, but it did not necessarily provide access to life-changing wages. In this way, the experiences of Quechan women on outing proved different from those of young men from Sherman, who often earned hundreds of dollars per summer working on industrial farms across Southern California.

The outing system in Los Angeles placed women into relatively isolated positions. Once they settled into the city, however, Quechan women quickly located one another and made time to socialize. Bertha Baker became adept at mining her agency superintendent for information regarding the whereabouts of her Quechan friends and relatives in Los Angeles. In July 1916 she wrote Odle to ask him where her cousin Elizabeth Carr lived. "I heard she is here," wrote Baker, "but I don't know where she is at." She already knew the whereabouts of other Quechans. She reported that she had seen her uncle Owen McKinley and that he was "fine as ever, and still on the job yet," and she expressed special excitement at the arrival of another relative, now stationed three miles south

on West 28th Street: "Glad to see one of my relatives here, too! I mean Ruth Millard!" After seven years in Los Angeles, Baker had become skilled at locating her friends and relatives.[76]

Baker was far from the only domestic worker with a social life. On the contrary, Quechan women saw one another fairly frequently. Whenever they wrote to Odle to make requests or to update him on their working situation, they almost always shared news of their fellow tribal members in the city. Baker usually began by informing Odle of the health and disposition of her fellow Quechan domestic workers. Writing in August 1916, Jennie Hawthorne informed Odle that she, Edith Acquinas, and Ruth Millard were all "happy as can be." She and Millard had recently gone to Venice Beach, where they rode a merry-go-round for the first time and had such a fine time that they "felt like staying there all night."[77]

Hawthorne and Millard did not stay out all night on their visit to Venice Beach. Other Quechan domestic workers sometimes did, and late-night social lives often became points of contention between employers and their workers. In January 1917, Eugenia Harris wrote to Odle to complain about her domestic worker, Mary Durand. Durand, said Harris, had been staying out much too late—past midnight on most evenings.[78] Odle wrote to the Brewer family, who employed Edith Acquinas, to check on the veracity of Harris's complaint. Acquinas soon learned of the accusations, and she fired off a letter to Odle: "To tell the real truth, there are lots of Indians here and we talk with them. But of course we can't turn our heads away from them. We're not so proud as that!"[79]

One year later, Mrs. A. H. Peir wrote Odle to "call attention to the hours Edith Acquinas has been keeping." She informed Odle that "at first, once in a while, she would get home a little later than midnight. But lately her return runs into the early hours of the morning and on occasion she did not get home until the next morning at seven o'clock."[80] Durand and Acquinas maintained active social lives that often moved beyond the Victorian boundaries put in place by those who administered the outing system, allowing them to spend time with friends and romantic interests beyond the watchful eyes of officials from the Office of Indian Affairs.[81]

If regulations are read as indications of recurring problems within an organization, the rules for young women on outing in Los Angeles suggest that more women than Durand and Acquinas spent late nights socializing in the city. In 1927, Outing Matron Frances Hall sent outing employers a form letter with detailed instructions for regulating the social lives of Native domestic workers. Chaperones should accompany their workers on any miscellaneous

errands. If outing employees leave the house alone, they should not stay out later than six o'clock. On days off, usually Thursday and Sunday afternoons, a domestic worker "should not be permitted to go to public parks or other places of amusement unless she is chaperoned by an adult member of the family."[82]

The lived experiences of Quechan domestic workers in the outing system provide insight into why and how outing matrons formulated these rules. Occasionally, the sexual freedoms and vulnerabilities of living and laboring in Los Angeles became all too visible. Helen Phillips, a matron at Sherman Institute, reported in 1919 that one of her students had gotten into trouble while on outing in the city. Police found the student with an unnamed man after midnight in a public park. "Not knowing what else to do with her," reported Phillips, they "sent her back to Sherman." Not to be thwarted, the young woman escaped and returned to Los Angeles, where she "stayed at a hotel with the boy until found and brought back." Another woman working in Los Angeles met a man at a movie theater and "the two had sexual intercourse." Still another woman from Sherman Institute had a similar experience, claiming that she "had met a fellow and gone out to the hills" after seeing a Thursday afternoon movie. After learning of her pregnancy, officials at Sherman sent her back home to Arizona. Life beyond the boundaries of boarding school walls afforded many young women chances to disregard the strict, Victorian sexual mores adopted by the Office of Indian Affairs and its employees.[83]

If the experiences of Mary Durand and Edith Acquinas teach us anything, it is that Quechan women did not always return home early in the evening. Many found ways to slip into the city alone, and most did not seek out the supervision of a chaperone in order to go shopping, see a movie, or eat at a restaurant. Writing about the black working class in the southern United States in the early twentieth century, historian Robin D. G. Kelley theorized that they sought out spaces where they could see "people with whom they felt kinship, people to whom they told stories about the day or the latest joke, people who shared a common vernacular filled with a grammar and vocabulary that struggled to articulate the beauty and burden of their racial, class, and gender experiences in the South."[84] Kelley's analysis calls attention to the significance of the time that Native domestic workers spent away from employers, teachers, and bureaucrats. In the dimly lit spaces of public parks, Native women could momentarily escape the sexual circumscriptions enforced by their employers, the sexual threats of white male household members, the drudgery of scrubbing toilets and cleaning up after screaming children. Exactly what these young women did while away from their employers remains beyond reach, as matrons

did not follow and document their every move. Probably wary of school and reservation officials who monitored mail correspondence, women in the outing system rarely wrote of their private social lives. Still, the unknowable nature of their social lives is much more than an annoying dark spot within a historical narrative. Rather it holds deep significance. Despite their participation within a coercive employment system that served as a key cog in a massive effort to eradicate indigenous cultures, these women found ways to carve out time and space for themselves. In parks, movie theaters, and dance halls, their late-night lives functioned independently of their employers and the Office of Indian Affairs.

While some Native domestic workers engaged in fleeting sexual encounters, others used time in Los Angeles to build lasting relationships, often with fellow tribal members. One such instance came on September 24, 1917, when Orrington Jewett notified Loson Odle that Quechan domestic worker Gertrude Smith had "stayed out all night with a Yuma Indian man, and . . . the two wished to be married." Little did Jewett know that Smith and the "Yuma Indian man," Joseph Miguel, had already been married for two days by the time she wrote that letter.[85] Later, Jewett learned of the marriage and wrote Odle, "All is well that ends well," revealing a penchant among outing officials for seeing young Native people get married and leave reservations in favor of the city. "They are just as much married as though I had attended to it."[86] Smith was not the only Quechan domestic to find romance with a fellow Quechan in Los Angeles. Ruth Millard, who began working in Los Angeles in 1917, married Owen McKinley, a Quechan who lived in the city.[87] A lack of documentation makes it impossible to know how long the two dated or what their relationship was before they married. Once again, however, this might be precisely the point. In a note of irony, the inattentiveness of their employers and the inadequate structure of early outing bureaucracy in Los Angeles allowed Smith and Millard to find time and space in the city to build their romantic relationships.

These experiences challenge historical conceptions of indigenous social lives during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Smith's and Millard's networks of kinship, friendship, and romance stretched well beyond the confines of the Fort Yuma Reservation, dotting and crisscrossing the neighborhoods of the largest metropolis in the American Southwest. Like migrants the world over, they built lives in two different places and managed personal relationships across vast distances. They did not sit passively within the confines of an isolated reservation while the modern world turned beyond her reach. They traveled. They met new people. They worked new jobs in an unfamiliar city. They formed romantic relationships far from home. Remarkably, Smith

and Millard managed to accomplish these things within an ethnocentric bureaucracy that sought to erase their language, culture, and identity. In the end, these women fell far outside the images of complete cultural isolation that often characterize conceptions of Native peoples during the early twentieth century.

Although they socialized with people from their own tribe, Quechan women in Los Angeles also tapped into a vibrant, intertribal social scene in Los Angeles. Native domestic workers attended social events hosted by the Wigwam Club and the Progressive Club, organizations run by "progressive" Native women and Native actors from the Hollywood film industry. While these groups promoted adherence to white, middle-class norms, they also provided young Native people with a place to socialize by hosting dinners, picnics, and dances "where older Indian boys and girls have a chance to meet." Dances put on by the Progressive Club often featured all-Native jazz orchestras and were "quite largely attended by the young men and women who have recently left school."[88] Regulations put in place by the Office of Indian Affairs attempted to prevent outing workers from attending these events, but lack of supervision meant they were free to go if they pleased. Even when outing matrons knew that domestic workers attended these events, they often looked the other way. Frances Hall noted approvingly that many Native people met, fell in love, and got married through the social events put on by the Wigwam Club and the Progressive Club, and that those who made homes in the city would be less likely to return to what she felt were the degrading influences of the reservation.[89]

The Wigwam Club and the Progressive Club were far from the only places in Los Angeles where outing workers would have seen other Native people, as American Indians migrated to the city in significant numbers during the early twentieth century. In 1920, the federal census counted in Los Angeles Native people from California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma, with smaller numbers coming from the Midwest and South.[90] Like most migrants in Los Angeles, Native people came to the Southland looking for work. Between 1910 and 1940 the population of Los Angeles mushroomed from just shy of 1 million to 2.2 million, with the city's film, oil, and service industries driving growth. The manufacturing sector grew rapidly, with factories spreading southward from the edge of the city's downtown core to industrial suburbs such as South Gate, Torrance, and Bell.[91] Many Native men found employment at Llewellyn Iron Works, a foundry located downtown on Spring Street that later moved to Torrance. Others worked for Firestone, a tire company that opened a plant in South Gate in the early 1920s. Galen Townsend, a former teacher at Sherman whose parents attended the school in the 1920s, confirmed that many alumni

and their families settled in industrial suburbs south of Los Angeles, including Torrance, Huntington Park, Bell Gardens, and Santa Fe Springs.[92]

The vibrant social life of domestic workers in Los Angeles represented a brighter side of the vulnerability these women experienced as they lived and worked almost entirely beyond the supervision of overworked outing matrons. Not all urban outing centers afforded this kind of freedom to their workers. In Tucson, for example, women from a Tohono O'odham community adjacent to the city had worked in white households since the late nineteenth century, and concerns over their conduct led to the establishment of an outing center in 1914. Employers grew frustrated when domestic workers simply found new jobs whenever they felt they suffered from poor treatment or subpar pay, and others complained that the behavior of Tucson's Native maids failed to conform to Victorian mores of gender and sexuality. The smaller size of Tucson and the concentration of Tohono O'odham domestic workers in a village just outside of town allowed outing matrons to exact a measure of control over their working and social lives.[93]

Quechan women and other Native domestic workers on outing provide rare glimpses into urban indigenous life before World War II. Historians Donald L. Fixico, James B. LaGrand, Nicolas Rosenthal, and others have provided pioneering accounts of indigenous migrations to cities, paying special attention to federal relocation programs that aimed to assimilate Native people by dropping them into major urban centers and placing them in wage labor positions.[94] While these historians pioneered the study of urban indigenous communities after World War II, scholarship on Native people in cities during the early twentieth century remains sparse.[95] The experiences of Quechan and other Native domestic workers in Los Angeles suggest at least two important possibilities within the study of indigenous peoples in American cities. They confirm that Native people began reclaiming Los Angeles as indigenous space well before the middle of the twentieth century, and, just as significantly, they reveal that the federal government began its attempts to solve the Indian problem by assimilating Native people via urban living and wage labor well in advance of the relocation programs of the 1950s and 1960s.

Between 1920 and 1930, most Quechan women in Los Angeles lived in the neighborhoods just south and west of downtown. The homes of their patrons formed a semicircle north of the campus of the University of Southern California. Los Angeles featured what historian Becky Nicolaides has called "an impressive two-pronged transportation system" beginning in 1910. From the southwest edge of downtown the southern suburbs where so many Native men

worked were only a thirty-five-cent, half-hour ride away.[96] And when Native domestic workers did venture into the working-class outskirts south of Los Angeles, they found themselves among a diverse patchwork of people who came to call the city home during the early twentieth century. With the exception of the mostly white suburb of South Gate, the swath of industrial neighborhoods that stretched south of downtown Los Angeles, sometimes called the "central neighborhoods," featured many black families, alongside Native families and whites from the South and Midwest. To the north and east of downtown, across the north–south thoroughfare of Hoover Street, a patchwork of multiethnic neighborhoods wrapped around the city's core. North and west of downtown lay Sonoratown, a neighborhood that housed mostly Mexican families during the late nineteenth century. By the second decade of the twentieth century, Latinos shared the area with immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, as well as a few black families. Just to the south lay Chinatown, home to the city's vice trade and "skid row." Still farther south was Bunker Hill, a cluster of apartments filled by multiethnic, working-class families. The Boyle Heights district stretched east of downtown, home to a diverse population of Mexicans, Jews, Japanese, and Russians who lived in housing that ranged from converted mansions to tiny shacks.[97]

Domestic workers left ample evidence of their interactions with other Native people in the city. They wrote less, however, about their experiences of multiethnic Los Angeles. One anecdote came from Jennie Hawthorne, who reported that a "colored lady" told her that "the lady I work for goes out with another fellow."[98] Hawthorne doubted the veracity of the woman's story and moved on quickly after writing only a few lines about it. Still, her brief narrative points to broader possibilities within the daily lives of Native domestic workers who lived and labored in Los Angeles through the outing system. As they shopped, socialized, and ran errands for their employers, they made contact with people who practiced different cultures, spoke different languages. Like their male counterparts at Fontana Farms, Native women likely came to view the world, and their place within it, much differently as a result of their time spent on outing. Far from being isolated on reservations or totally sequestered within the homes of their employers, Native domestic workers in the outing system would have experienced Los Angeles in all of its messiness and complexity.

Hawthorne and others like her encountered multiethnic Los Angeles in passing. Sherman student and domestic worker Edith Woods, on the other hand, experienced the confluences of peoples and cultures in a much more personal way. Of mixed Chemehuevi, Mojave, and white descent, Woods enrolled

at Sherman Institute at the age of thirteen in 1923. Beginning in 1925 she served as a domestic worker in Los Angeles, Glendale, and Santa Ana, California, and attended public school while she worked.[99] Records reveal little about Woods's social life as she crisscrossed California's Southland until September 1928, when a marriage controversy generated a firestorm of correspondences between Superintendent Conser and Clyde Gensler, Woods's agent at the Colorado River Reservation.

It began when Conser received a phone call from Woods's mother, Ruth Ennis, telling him that Woods intended to marry a black man. Conser rushed to the office of the Riverside County Clerk and warned him of Woods's plan. "I believe," he wrote, "there is a law prohibiting the granting of a license for marriage between a white person and a negro. . . . The ruling here was that she was more of a white person than she was an Indian and therefore not eligible for a license." Woods and her husband-to-be arrived at the County Clerk's Office in Downtown Riverside later that day. The clerk turned them away. Worried that the two might obtain a marriage license in the neighboring county of San Bernardino, Conser wrote to Gensler and apprised him of the situation: "I consider it a shame for a girl like Edith Woods to throw herself away with a negro. If her father wishes to take action in the matter, I advise that he do it immediately and take it up with the County Clerk's Office at San Bernardino in case she should apply there for a license."[100]

As he fought to keep Woods from marrying across racial lines, Conser showed a keen grip of California law. State marriage statutes prevented those considered white from marrying "mulattoes, negroes, or mongolians," but they did not make any mention of interracial marriages involving Native people. As historian Peggy Pascoe has noted, county clerks served as "on-the-ground experts in racial classification" as they enforced antimiscegenation statutes in California. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the state relied on these clerks to determine whether or not couples met the criteria set forth by these laws. They often did so based on sight alone. Conser understood that state law did not prevent a Native person from marrying a black person, and so he asserted that Woods was actually more white than Native. The Riverside County clerk followed his advice. For a time, at least, a combination of racist laws and meddling bureaucrats delayed the marriage. While indigenous women in the outing system experienced new kinds of freedoms as they lived and worked in Los Angeles, escaping the paternalistic power of state and federal governments remained a difficult task. Even if the outing bureaucracy remained underfunded, a tangled web of bureaucrats managed to interfere with the intimate lives of

Native domestic workers. For Woods, daring to love across lines of race or ethnicity brought heartbreak. Archival records do not reveal if she and her fiancé finally wed. They do, however, provide a window into the racially charged atmosphere that outing employees navigated in early-twentieth-century Los Angeles.[101]

Woods felt the sting of racism perhaps more than most who engaged the outing system. Yet racism and segregation doubtless became important parts of how all Native domestic workers experienced Southern California during the early twentieth century. Historian Eric Avila has argued that when business boosters and Progressive Era planners envisioned the future of Los Angeles, they saw the city as "an outpost of white supremacy." To be sure, architects, builders, and city planners paid homage to California's past by building red-tile roofs and attending popular theatrical productions such as the Ramona pageant, which portrayed the plight of an Indian princess who served as an intermediary between Native people and Spanish newcomers. They did so, however, with the belief that Californios, Mexicans, and Native Americans were fading into the past and would never again pose a threat to the white, Protestant order of the city. Los Angeles, asserted *Los Angeles Times* publisher Harry Chandler, would be the "white spot of America."[102]

During the first decades of the twentieth century, city officials engineered projects aimed at subduing and segregating people of color. In 1907, a coalition of progressives and church leaders established the Los Angeles Housing Commission in hopes of eradicating slums south of downtown and replacing them with single-family cottages. City bureaucrats aimed a similar project at a group of two hundred Mexican people living in the flood plain of the Los Angeles River, east of downtown. In a phenomenon that historian Natalia Molina has called a "general pathologizing of Mexican culture and Mexican spaces," city officials often blamed family structures and parenting practices—not poverty—for the presence of diseases such as typhus within Mexican neighborhoods. In Los Angeles, then, public officials cultivated a close association between race and illness.[103]

Anti-Asian racism also plagued California during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Gentleman's Agreement of 1907 effectively closed the United States to Chinese and Japanese immigrants around the turn of the century, and the California Alien Land Law Acts of 1913 and 1920 attempted to dismantle the successes of Japanese farmers in California. Restrictions against Asian immigration hardened with the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, which essentially blocked

Asian immigration to the United States.[104] Concerned over how the presence of Asians might affect the image of Los Angeles, officials from the Los Angeles County Health Department developed plans to "cleanse" the city of Asian interlopers. During the first decade of the twentieth century a fleet of inspectors "cleaned up" Chinatown by shutting down Chinese vegetable stands and restricting Chinese laundries to newly zoned business districts. Despite restrictions on Asian immigration, twelve thousand Japanese people and two thousand Chinese people lived in Los Angeles as of 1920. If Mary Durand or Bertha Baker had headed a few miles east from their places of employment along West Jefferson Avenue and across Hoover Street, they might have walked past one of the twelve Chinese-owned laundries still in operation during the 1920s, remnants of a trade dominated by the Chinese before their systematic exclusion. As young women from the Quechan reservation and Sherman Institute ventured into Los Angeles, then, they found themselves immersed within a civic culture awash in racism.[105]

Concerns over the racial geography of Los Angeles affected where Native women worked, as those in charge of outing often placed students in homes within sections of the city that remained predominantly white during the early twentieth century. By the early 1930s Frances Hall had moved the bulk of her workers westward, away from the neighborhoods adjacent to downtown and toward what she referred to as the "best residence sections of the city and surrounding towns": Beverly Hills, Hollywood, Glendale, and Culver City, among other locations.[106] Though they may have lived and worked far from the communities of color targeted by ethnocentric public health campaigns, Native women working in the outing system still felt the harsh effects of racism, Los Angeles–style. After a few months of living in the city and working in the McCreary household, Jennie Hawthorne informed Odle that her daily routine involved two baths each day, one in the morning and one at night, despite the relatively "nice and cool" weather of Los Angeles. "I always take a bath before I go out," wrote Hawthorne, "because I was afraid they will call me a dirty girl."[107] For Hawthorne, fears of being called "dirty" permeated everyday life within the public spaces of Los Angeles.

By the 1930s the notion that Native Americans and other people of color acted as vessels for contagious disease affected the form and function of outing. Before young women from the Fort Yuma Reservation could begin working in Los Angeles, they underwent detailed physicals, in which doctors searched for signs of chicken pox, diphtheria, measles, tuberculosis, typhoid, scarlet fever, smallpox, and whooping cough. For Mojave domestic worker Sarah Williams,

not even a clean bill of health from a medical doctor could assuage the fears of potential employers who worried obsessively over the prospects of young Native women bringing disease into their homes. Fourteen years old in the spring of 1934, Williams sought to make her first trip to Los Angeles, as did many Mojave women at her age. On May 29, 1934, Anna Nettle, the agency doctor at Colorado River, declared Williams to be perfectly healthy. Soon, then, she would travel west to begin working in Los Angeles.[108]

But things soon became more difficult for Williams. Before departing for Los Angeles, she scratched herself on a bush and came away with scabs on her legs. When she arrived in the early morning hours of June 14, her employer sent her away "within a few hours on account of it being discovered that she had several sores on her leg." Ripples of panic spread through the households receiving domestic workers from the Colorado River Reservation. By morning the employers of Mojave domestic worker Felicia Hicks heard about Williams's sores. Concerned that Hicks would spread disease to their household, her employers sent her away just as quickly as she had arrived.[109] Hall placed Williams in three more homes. Each time, Williams's new employers sent her away when they saw the scabs. "One lady tells another," wrote Hall, "and we have had considerable trouble in placing those two." Hall reported that "it is always ladies with children who take these girls, and they are very particular about any blemish of the skin, sore eyes and health in general, on account of their own children." Another trip to the doctor and another clean bill of health for Williams was not enough to soothe the fears of paranoid employers. She returned home on June 30 never having worked a full day.[110]

The racialized landscape of early-twentieth-century Los Angeles had very real effects on the Native domestic workers who lived and labored there. Multiple baths per day and repeated rejections from employers wary of a scabby leg sent a clear message: regardless of the quality of their work, young women in the outing system would always be viewed as possible vectors of disease. The experiences of these women suggest that the assimilationist visions of Pratt had faded fast, and that outing no longer functioned to help Native women achieve parity with their white, Protestant counterparts. While Native women proved desirable as cheap, pliable labor, white Angelenos viewed them as suspicious by virtue of their race alone. In California's Southland, a new brand of racialized hysteria swallowed whole Pratt's vision for assimilation.

While Native women showed strength and creativity as they navigated outing in Los Angeles, their narratives cannot be reduced to stories of triumph over long odds. The spaces where their agency ran into the constraints presented by

an ethnocentric bureaucracy and a city beset by unique strains of racism proved far messier than that. Native domestic workers in Los Angeles faced circumstances that swung between opportunity and peril, adventure and tedium. In the outing system, they operated within a branch of a vast and far-reaching bureaucracy that damaged and restricted the lives of Native people throughout the United States. As Odle sent Quechan women to live and work in Los Angeles, he offered them virtually no support and no protection from the many dangers of the city. For Gertrude Smith and Jennie Hawthorne, long days of work gave way to even longer nights of loneliness and isolation. Left alone by their employers, they never knew when trouble might knock at the door. Mary Durand, on the other hand, faced greater risk when her employers remained in the house, as she lived with a man accused of impregnating another domestic four years earlier. When Quechan women ventured into the streets of Los Angeles, they experienced an increasingly segregated city, filled with a special breed of paranoia at the presence of immigrants and people of color.

Despite these challenges, the words of Bertha Baker, Jennie Hawthorne, Mary Durand, Gertrude Smith, and Ruth Millard point to the ambivalent and sometimes contradictory nature of the outing system in Los Angeles. For Baker and her cohorts, participation within the outing system in Los Angeles did not necessarily entail submission to total domination from employers and distant bureaucrats. However manipulative, misguided, and ethnocentric the outing system may have been, Quechan women often became experts at working within it. Baker and her Quechan friends and relatives found one another and created social spaces of their own, where they could forge friendships and romances and enjoy modern leisure activities. They shared information in order to drive up their wages, and they found prospective employers so that if and when things went wrong, they could bargain for better conditions or leave. Hawthorne and Millard used time spent in Los Angeles to work on their English-language skills. Far from the images of absolute isolation and hopeless poverty that often characterize Native people of the early twentieth century, they successfully navigated the difficulties and frustrations of making lives in the city, far from home. That they managed to do so despite the unique challenges presented by an ill-designed, ethnocentric outing bureaucracy makes their stories even more remarkable.

While Native women negotiated the complexities of outing in urban Southern California, the program would not last forever. As Los Angeles and the rest of the United States sank into economic depression, officials within the Office of Indian Affairs questioned the idea of sending Native people to compete for

the precious few jobs available in cities. Moreover, the new commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, would argue for a romanticized vision of Native life that limited Native people to rural reservation homelands, where they could shine the light of collectivist cultures into the selfish depravity of the capitalist economy of the United States. Since the turn of the twentieth century, Native peoples across the Southwest had learned to use federal bureaucracies to enter urban Southern California, find work and housing, and tap into Native social networks. Now they would need to adjust to a bureaucracy that changed rapidly at the hands of a miserable economy and a wild-eyed idealist placed in charge of Indian affairs.

CHAPTER 4

Indians "Should Not Go There"

The Great Depression and the End of Outing

IN JANUARY 1931, SUPERVISOR OF INDIAN EDUCATION CARL MOORE described a nearly hopeless situation at the Midnight Mission, one of the largest homeless shelters in Los Angeles. Moore reported that the Mission, located in the heart of Skid Row, received six hundred to seven hundred visitors each day. On this day, hundreds of men waited in a line that stretched down San Pedro Avenue and nearly out of sight. At least a few, observed Moore, would likely be Native. "An average of thirty boys and men apply here monthly for help in finding employment," he wrote. "A considerable number of these are boys from our schools."[1] Like the rest of the country, Southern California had become mired in economic depression. The region's many Native people, including those in Los Angeles, were not immune.

Despite the economic downturn, the outing center continued to serve as a crucial resource for Native people in Los Angeles, placing hundreds into increasingly scarce jobs during the early years of the Depression. Yet political forces more powerful than economics and job placement rates would determine the fate of the city's outing program. As Franklin Delano Roosevelt took office, he brought with him the charismatic John Collier as his commissioner of Indian affairs. While Collier had long crusaded for the rights of indigenous peoples, he clung to deeply romanticized views of their communities. Indians, he argued, belonged on reservations, where they could shine the light of their collectivist cultures onto the greed and depravity of the industrial, capitalist order of U.S. culture. Impervious to the good that Native people found in outing, Collier ordered the outing center closed in 1933.

As the federal government abandoned efforts to "uplift" Indians through living and working in the city, indigenous communities continued their efforts to make the Office of Indian Affairs more responsive to their needs. Native people

had become experts in dealing with federal schemes established in hopes of controlling, improving, and erasing them. Many communities adjusted quickly to the policy changes of the 1930s by taking advantage of New Deal programs that focused on providing on-reservation employment. But not all Native people accepted the notion that they should no longer venture into urban areas. A small but influential cadre of boarding school graduates presented the federal government with a new idea: Send us to college.

The stories of Native people who navigated the transition away from outing labor and toward federal support for their higher education shed light on a yet underexplored element of federal Indian policy. Moreover, they highlight the continuing efforts of Native people to gain what they could from the federal government. As policies shifted, indigenous communities creatively adapted their tactics in the seemingly never-ending struggle to draw benefits from a colonial apparatus that paid little attention to their desires. Just as their predecessors did with outing programs, Native people who accessed federal support for higher education combined migration and knowledge of complex federal bureaucracies in order to chart modern and distinctly indigenous paths into the second half of the twentieth century.

The Great Depression did not initially keep Frances Hall from doing her job. During the first few years of the economic downturn, she worked frantically to keep pipelines open from reservations and boarding schools to jobs in the city. The market for domestic workers became flooded in Los Angeles, and fewer households hired maids. Still, Native women from across the American Southwest continued to find their way to the city in search of work. Just as she had during the boom years of the 1920s, the outing matron kept up her flood of letters to the Office of Indian Affairs in search of additional money and employees for the perpetually overburdened outing center.[2]

If Hall had less to do than in the boom years of the 1920s, she nonetheless remained saddled with an unrealistic workload. She wrote in May 1932 to request additional assistance from the Office of Indian Affairs: "Every day this past year I have had more than it was possible for me to do, and the work has been piling up for some time. I have not been able to get a single day's vacation."[3] In the winter of 1931 she supervised three hundred women in Los Angeles, with fifty-seven attending public schools in the city. Most earned around ten dollars a month, plus room and board.[4] By the summer of 1931, however, the number of women working under Hall's supervision had dropped to two hundred. Still, she claimed to have found positions for all the women who had requested work. This was "a pretty good showing," she wrote, "considering the

labor depression."[5] While records kept by Hall and the Office of Indian Affairs do not reveal the exact number of women placed on outing between 1932 and 1934, they show that significant numbers of women continued to find outing employment. In September 1933, for example, Hall informed Sherman Institute Superintendent Donald Biery that she had secured twenty-two jobs for students who wished to work year-round in Los Angeles and attend public school there. That year more students from Sherman Institute found full-time employment in Los Angeles than ever before.[6]

Hall coped with reduced demand for domestic workers by attempting to move the women into industries outside of domestic work, including laundries, restaurants, and textile factories. Her efforts met with little success. She blamed her difficulties on Native women themselves, complaining that they lacked speed and "stick-to-a-tive-ness." It seems more likely, however, that the women chose housework for pragmatic reasons. In 1931 the average steam laundry in Los Angeles paid sixty-four dollars per month, while an experienced domestic worker could earn between fifty and seventy-five dollars per month—roughly $765 and $932 in 2013 dollars, respectively—on top of room and board. Native women who used the outing center to find work did not resist laundry or factory work out of some sort of genetic shortcoming. Rather, they did so because when they could get domestic work, it paid just as well and also provided them with a place to live.[7]

The structure of the economy in Los Angeles helped to keep the outing center alive, even as employment opportunities dwindled. Industries such as agriculture, oil production, and manufacturing struggled in the Southland. As the Great Depression wore on, however, a significant section of the economy in Los Angeles remained relatively healthy, including banking, real estate, and the film industry. Moreover the weather remained nearly perfect, drawing thousands of tourists during the early 1930s. Los Angeles hosted the Olympic Games in 1932, which drew 384,000 visitors and roughly $44 million to the city.[8] Even as economic malaise settled over Southern California, then, Native women continued to find domestic work on the city's affluent west side.[9]

Indigenous men had no such luck finding work in the crippled factories and on the withering farms of the Southland during the first, worst years of the Great Depression. Moore advocated for the placement of an outing agent in Los Angeles to help Native men find jobs and housing. George P. LaVatta, a placement agent for the Office of Indian Affairs in Salt Lake City, Utah, sometimes ventured into Los Angeles to facilitate employment for Native men. But he did so only occasionally. "One of the chief reasons why our boys are not

giving as good an account of themselves as the girls," wrote Moore, "is that they are receiving little or no attention in locating themselves in remunerative positions." Noting that "few white girls" sought out employment as domestic workers in Los Angeles, Moore argued that there existed no equivalent employment opportunities for Native men. Without an outing center to help young men navigate the difficulties of the Depression-era labor market in Los Angeles, he asserted, Native families would struggle to establish themselves in the city. The return of increasing numbers of Native families to reservations following the completion of their boarding school years, wrote Moore, would "promote the corruption of the Indian race and neutralize the good instruction given in our schools."[10] A year later Hall echoed Moore's argument about the need for an outing center for American Indian men in Los Angeles, noting that "on account of the financial depression and scarcity of work for men and boys, there is a great deal of welfare work to be looked after for our Indian families who are living in Los Angeles." Inspector Dorothy Ellis also felt that, in the absence of a new outing center for Native men, the existing center on Normandie Avenue should host an additional outing agent to work with the men.[11]

The Office of Indian Affairs did not send an additional outing employee to work with young men in Los Angeles. Even if it had, such an employee would have faced a nearly impossible task during the early years of the Depression. As the economy worsened in the later months of 1929 and into 1930, business and political leaders in California clung to variations of a philosophy President Herbert Hoover termed "cooperative individualism." A businessman by training, Hoover believed that individuals should help themselves, and if their own efforts failed, then those in need should turn to their wealthier brethren for assistance. Federal and state governments, he argued, should provide guidance in efforts to help the poor and unemployed but should not interfere with local efforts.[12] The conservative establishment in Southern California agreed. In lieu of using tax revenues to support the unemployed via welfare and work relief, officials from the City of Los Angeles and Los Angeles County relied on nongovernment organizations such as the Red Cross, the Catholic Welfare Bureau, and the Community Chest to provide assistance to those without work. Businesspeople and politicians loudly asserted that the Depression would be short-lived and that people should spend money in order to keep the gears of the local economy moving.[13]

Policies based on the ideals of cooperative individualism did little to halt the economic free-fall, and as 1930 progressed, the vicious cycle of depression continued. Consumer demand dropped, as did wages and employment. Bread lines

formed by June. By May 1932, 344,000 Angelenos—one third of the working-age population—found themselves unemployed. Unemployment hovered between 30 and 60 percent in the canning, sawmill, and petroleum industries, all of which would have likely hired Native men before the economic crash. For those who held jobs, wages fell by one-third between 1929 and 1933. In 1931 and 1932, food prices dropped so precipitously that farmers allowed unemployed workers to form cooperatives to harvest and keep their crops, which otherwise would have rotted in the fields. As the city and county began spending money to help the poor and unemployed, the elites of Los Angeles stubbornly resisted the imposition of taxes to balance sagging budgets.[14]

Under the Roosevelt administration a slew of federal initiatives aimed to stimulate the national economy. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) sent unemployed men to work in forestry camps, and the Public Works Administration put young men to work building roads, bridges, dams, and hospitals, among other projects. In addition to public works and employment initiatives, Roosevelt expanded the rights of workers to join labor unions under the terms of the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 (NIRA) and the National Labor Relations Act of 1935 (NLRA).[15] While these New Deal policies and others put the unemployed back to work and helped to reinvigorate the national economy, they did not provide equally for all. As historian and political scientist Ira Katznelson has explained, the benefits offered by New Deal programs differed according to race. For example, benefits and protections offered by the Social Security Act of 1935, the NIRA, and the NLRA did not extend to farm workers or domestic workers—fields dominated by nonwhite workers, including Native outing laborers. Moreover, southern Democrats insisted that employment programs be administered at the local level, allowing racist hiring practices to affect the construction and operation of New Deal bureaucracies, both in the South and elsewhere.[16]

Thus New Deal programs did little for Native people in Los Angeles, and the outing center continued to serve as the lone outpost for Native job seekers well into the 1930s. The center remained an important social hub for Native women, and Hall found herself helping more Native men and their families to search for jobs as the Depression worsened. Hall had more work than ever, and the outing center remained a crucial resource for Native people living in the city. Why, then, did the Office of Indian Affairs choose to shutter such a crucial Native hub at the height of its utility?

The vision of longtime Indian reformer and newly appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier had much to do with the downfall of outing in Los

Angeles. Roosevelt appointed Collier in March 1933, and the new commissioner declared that activities carried out at the outing center would be "greatly curtailed owing to drastic cuts in the employment budget." Collier's concern over budgets rang hollow, however, as the budget for the Office of Indian Affairs had climbed to an all-time high of $11 million just a year earlier.[17] As Collier shared his thoughts on outing, it became increasingly apparent that more than money lay behind his decision. "While the need of economy has been responsible at this time for discontinuing the housing feature of our placement work," wrote the new commissioner, "it is possible that the elimination during the current year may prove a blessing in disguise by removing one of the features drawing to Los Angeles girls who should not go there." Collier informed Hall that she should no longer look to arrange employment for Native people. Instead she should focus her energies on "securing cooperation from local social agencies to help girls in need."[18]

Collier closed the outing cottage in Los Angeles just six months after taking office. On the morning of September 1, 1933, a moving truck rumbled down Normandie Avenue and came to a stop in front of the small cottage that had been operated by Hall for the past seven years. With the assiduous Hall providing guidance, a pair of hired hands hauled objects large and small from house to truck. The things they carried provided brief sketches of what the outing center had been under the direction of Hall and what it would be no more. Five beds—one twin and four double—provided rest to Native women from across the American Southwest when they arrived in Los Angeles or stayed at the outing cottage while they transitioned from job to job. A large kitchen table, a refrigerator, and a gas stove helped to provide them with food, and twenty-four steel folding chairs and four folding tables had made places to sit for Native women who attended monthly social gatherings in Hall's parlor. The pivotal place of the outing center within the Native community of Los Angeles came to an end as the giant steel door of the moving van slammed shut.[19]

Hall did not have to move far. Her new office would be less than a third of a mile away, just around the corner on Beverly Boulevard. If the distance between the outing cottage and her new office was short, however, changes in her duties would be much more significant. Where she had hosted women in her cottage as they transitioned from reservation and boarding school to city, now she only located potential employers and forwarded their information to reservation agents. Just as they had before the outing center opened in 1918, Native women would now make their way to the city alone, with only directions from their reservation agent or boarding school superintendent to guide them. Where

Hall had once worked to assist Native people in need of help—whether in the courtroom or the doctor's office—she would now refer them to social service agencies in the city. The grind of deeply involved, hands-on labor would give way to the detached, professionalized, nine-to-five tasks of the social worker. In more ways than one, then, an era came to an end as the moving truck rounded the corner onto Beverly Boulevard and rumbled out of sight.[20]

Less than a year after her change in duties, Frances Hall turned sixty-five and took her mandatory retirement from the Office of Indian Affairs. Thirty-four-year-old Katherine Mahn took her place in August 1935. Like Hall in her last year, though, Mahn mostly worked to find jobs for Native people in the city, and she did very little to monitor or assist them once they began working. After sixteen years and thousands of placements of Indians into jobs, the outing center was no more.[21]

Deepening economic depression played a large part in the closure of the much-used employment center, but so too did changing ideas about Native people and their place in American society. The sudden closure of the outing center flew in the face of a substantial and well-supported effort among Indian Office bureaucrats to provide more resources to the Los Angeles Outing Center. Just as importantly, the move away from outing revealed a significant philosophical shift under Collier's leadership of the Office of Indian Affairs. For nearly half a century after Richard Henry Pratt began his misguided experiment in assimilation through education and labor, officials within Indian Office pushed policies that sent young, indigenous people beyond the reservation to live and work among the supposedly uplifting influences of white, Protestant culture. Now Collier brought to Indian country a radically new set of ideas. Change came most visibly in the form of the Indian Reorganization Act, which reshuffled tribal administrations among groups who ratified the legislation and repealed edicts that restricted the open practices of indigenous languages, cultures, and religious ceremonies. Once subject to almost constant suspicion and scorn from the Office of Indian Affairs, Native cultures abruptly received respect and admiration from Collier and his administration.[22]

If Collier appreciated Indian cultures, he also held a narrow view of them. Indians, he believed, should remain within their reservation homelands, where indigenous family and community models and deep connections to landscapes and natural resources would provide alternatives to what he perceived as the degrading influences of industrial capitalism. In less than one year, the Office of Indian Affairs performed an about-face with regard to Indian culture. Rather than send Native people to cities in hopes of facilitating their assimilation into white, Protestant culture and enlarging a Native working class, the Indian Office

now sought to preserve indigenous cultures by keeping indigenous peoples tied to their reservation homelands.

While Collier's meteoric rise within Indian affairs pleased some indigenous communities, it must have been bittersweet for those who used government labor programs as funnels into jobs and housing in Los Angeles and other cities. Collier fashioned himself as a crusader for indigenous peoples and their cultures, but he could not account for the places that migration and wage labor had taken many Native communities. As the struggle to maintain indigenous cultures became less pressing, Native communities would have to adjust to life without the outing programs that had provided jobs and housing as they moved between urban areas and reservations.

A strange blend of tragedy and eccentricity formed Collier's almost mystical reverence for indigenous cultures. He was born in 1884 to Charles Collier, a prominent Atlanta lawyer and businessman, and Susan Rawson Collier, the daughter of a wealthy New England family. Charles became mayor of Atlanta in 1895, and he quickly found himself embroiled in financial scandal. Depressed and angry with her husband, Susan died of a drug overdose in 1897. Not long after, a devastated and destitute Charles took his own life. Scarred by the deaths of his parents, John Collier ventured into the Appalachian Mountains, where he took solace in the tranquility of the wilderness. His life would be marked by a powerful suspicion of the acquisitive, capitalistic values that derailed the lives of his parents.[23]

After high school, Collier drifted across the eastern United States for the better part of a decade. He studied literature at Columbia University, where a growing disdain for the trappings of material wealth drove him toward the writings of socialist thinkers such as Peter Kropotkin and William Morris. He traveled to Belgium, France, and Ireland, paying special attention to labor and cooperative movements in all three countries. In 1907 he settled into a job as a social worker at the People's Institute in New York City, where he worked to protect the city's immigrant communities from what he saw as the degenerative effects of industrial capitalism on family and community life. In a prelude to the salvation he saw in indigenous cultures, he sought to use immigrant institutions such as the family, the neighborhood, and the church as bulwarks against what he called the "starvation of the soul" that came with the privileging of machine over man.[24]

Collier moved west to California in 1919, taking teaching jobs in Los Angeles and San Francisco. He took vacations to northern New Mexico, where he visited his friend Mabel Dodge, an intellectual and artist who had traded the salons

of New York City for the Pueblos and mountain vistas of Taos, New Mexico. There she became part of a fast-growing community of writers and thinkers who revered Pueblo culture and its perceived alternatives to the ills of industrial capitalism.[25] Pueblo culture appeared to provide answers to questions that had haunted Collier since the deaths of his parents. Pueblos, he said, "possessed the fundamental secret of human life—the secret of building great personality through . . . social institutions."[26] In Pueblo communities, he saw cultural elements that had elsewhere been trampled by the inexorable march of capitalism: emphasis on the family, deep spirituality, and profound connection to the land. Collier believed that if he could preserve indigenous cultures and languages in what he perceived as their primordial states, then Native communities might provide viable political alternatives to modern industrial culture. He set out to protect "the beauty and purity of Pueblo civilization . . . from the encroachments and absorption of white neighbors."[27]

By 1921, Collier had thrown himself headlong into the Indian reform movement. He led the charge against the 1922 Bursum Bill, which proposed to illegally grant title to Pueblo lands to non-Native squatters. Later, he founded the American Indian Defense Association, an organization he led until he became commissioner of Indian affairs. As Collier made his rapid political ascent, new visions for indigenous education and labor existed near the heart of his agenda. He left a trail of ideas on Native education and labor, the most significant coming at a 1923 meeting of reformers in the Los Angeles suburb of Azusa. There, he proposed "remaking the school system both primary and secondary; basing it more largely on esthetics and on arts-and-crafts, on rural industry . . . and carrying it out so as to strengthen rather than mutilate the tribal relationships. We have a wonderful chance here to develop 'socialized schools' which would have an influence on the whole school system of the country."[28]

As Collier rose to power within the American Indian Defense Association and the Office of Indian Affairs, he touted a unique blend of ideas about Indian education. In one sense he picked up where the previous commissioner of Indian affairs had left off. Charles Rhoads took office in the wake of the Meriam Report, a systemwide investigation of the Office of Indian Affairs that included scathing criticisms of the Indian School Service. The report, authored largely by progressive educator Will Carson Ryan, accused the Indian Office of maintaining dangerously unhealthy conditions within its schools and snuffing out the cultural diversity of students with an inflexible, uniform curriculum. Rhoads briefly outlawed corporal punishment of students, attained more federal funding for agency schools, and softened

rules against the use of Indian languages and cultures in the classrooms of federal Indian schools.[29]

In a strong acknowledgment of the need for reform, Rhoads hired Ryan, his chief critic, as director of Indian education in 1930. Ryan advocated for the closure of boarding schools and the use of on-reservation day schools as cultural hubs for Indian communities. Like Collier, he saw no use in Indian children studying subjects such as math, geometry, and ancient history. In a return to the educational philosophies of former superintendent of Indian schools Estelle Reel, Ryan pushed instead for what he termed a "realistic" curriculum, one that would prepare students for life on Indian reservations by complementing training in subsistence agriculture with coursework focusing on basic academic skills. While Collier remained an ardent critic of the Office of Indian Affairs, his opinions on Indian education largely mirrored those of Rhoads and Ryan. So too would his policies as commissioner of Indian affairs.[30]

Collier took office in 1933, and in one of his first hires he brought on progressive educator Willard Beatty as his director of Indian education. While Ryan, Collier, and Beatty secured a larger budget that allowed for a better trained and equipped staff, they scaled back the goals and aims of federal Indian schools. They sought to drastically reduce the number of off-reservation federal Indian boarding schools, closing six within a year of taking office. In keeping with his fixation on indigenous community life, Collier sought to build more on-reservation day schools and transform them into thriving centers from which Native communities could shine the light of their cultures on the urban United States.[31]

Alongside a drastic reduction in the number of boarding schools in operation, Collier fundamentally changed the pedagogical practices of those that remained open. With full approval from Collier, Beatty doubled down on the calls for "practical education" that had long echoed through the Office of Indian Affairs. But where practicality had once entailed preparing students to assimilate by joining the industrial working class, Beatty and his staff readied students to return to the reservations from which they hailed. Indians, asserted Beatty, should not seek to secure the precious few jobs that existed in Depression-racked cities and towns of the American West. Boarding schools would no longer train their students to become farm hands, mechanics, and maids. Instead, they would teach students the skills at which many indigenous families and communities were already proficient: gardening, subsistence farming, hunting, fishing, and gathering.[32]

Collier and Beatty drew their visions for Indian education from vastly different ideological wellsprings. Beatty wanted to keep Indians from competing

for the precious few jobs available to non-Native laborers in towns and cities, while Collier argued that keeping Indians on reservations would preserve their "natural" state of community cooperation and harmony. Despite disparate intentions, their visions dovetailed into a new set of federal policies on Indian education and labor.

Collier pushed for a grand reform in Indian affairs with the Wheeler-Howard bill, which would eventually become the Indian Reorganization Act. Alongside a reorganization of tribal leadership, the legislation sought to roll back the Dawes Act, which had promoted the allotment and dispossession of reservation land bases since the late nineteenth century. He proposed a revolving credit fund from which Native communities could borrow to purchase lands lost under the Dawes Act and return them to communal control. Here Collier's romanticized view of indigenous peoples shone through again. With jobs becoming scarce as the Depression grew worse, reconsolidation and communal control of Indian lands would accomplish a pair of goals simultaneously: Indians would return to their "natural" homelands and lead more perfect indigenous community lives, and the precious jobs taken by Indians in cities would be made available to non-Native people.[33]

Transformations came slowly within federal Indian schools, many of which remained staffed by employees whose working identities had been formed in the crucible of the assimilationist ideas proposed by Pratt. Still, changing expectations for indigenous peoples filtered steadily into education policy. In 1938, Beatty circulated a directive urging staff at each of the remaining twenty-eight off-reservation boarding schools to visit the home reservations of their students. There they were to "familiarize themselves with home and community conditions" in order to facilitate "intelligent planning for educational experience related to realistic needs of the students."[34]

Slowly but surely the visions of Collier and Beatty traveled from the hallways of power in Washington, D.C., to the outposts of the Indian schools. If they had ever sought to integrate Native peoples into the body politic of the United States, federal Indian schools would do so no longer. Instead, they would teach Indians to be Indians. In Southern California, Sherman Superintendent Biery promptly complied with the changes put forth by Collier, Beatty, and friends.[35] Between 1939 and 1941, Biery sent employees to gather information on the conditions on the home reservations of Sherman students. These excursions would reveal as much about the efforts of Sherman administrators to align themselves with the politics of Collier's Office of Indian Affairs as they would about conditions on the reservations.[36]

FIG 4.1. Women at Sherman Institute practice subsistence farming skills, n.d. Photo courtesy of Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, CA.

The first of the reservation fact-finding missions began on May 31, 1939, when Industrial Teacher Robert Sneddon and Girls Industrial Teacher Edna Schnarr departed Riverside for the reservation at Hoopa Valley, California, some seven hundred miles north. Throughout their journey, Sneddon and Schnarr demonstrated a keen awareness of the philosophical changes under the leadership of Collier and Beatty. The pair began their report on the trip by borrowing verbiage from a circular issued by Beatty in regard to proposed curricular changes in the boarding schools, proclaiming they would "famalarize [*sic*] ourselves with the home and community conditions, work possibilities, and other factors necessary for the intelligent planning for educational experience related to realistic needs of the students."[37]

Winding their way through communities at Hoopa Valley, Sneddon and Schnarr produced a genre-bending narrative somewhere between ethnography and travel journal. They punctuated vivid descriptions of the landscape with dire accounts of poverty among indigenous residents of the area. Surveying employment conditions, Sneddon and Schnarr noted that men on the Hoopa Valley Reservation migrated frequently to pursue work within the fishing, lumber, and construction industries, and that many found jobs with the CCC, the Indian Emergency Conservation Work Administration (IECW), and the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Their assessment of the smaller communities along the Klamath River proved even less positive. "The prospects for the Indians on the

Klamath River," they speculated, "are not very hopeful because there is very little chance for remuneration for working for wages or cultivation of the land." Sneddon and Schnarr prefaced the closing of their account by sounding two calls that would become characteristic of the many "educational tours" that would follow over the next two years. Both reflected a strong sense of self-awareness as they attempted to protect the continued existence of Sherman Institute among the anti–boarding school furor within the Collier administration. First, and perhaps most predictably, the pair of teachers claimed that Sherman would provide the young Indians of Hoopa Valley and the Klamath River with a much stronger education than area public schools ever could. Second, they claimed that the visit to Hoopa Valley and the Klamath River would "increase our efficiency in the guidance and usefulness to the Indians from that jurisdiction."[38]

As Sneddon and Schnarr proposed to change the curriculum at Sherman to make it more "useful" to students from Hoopa Valley and the Klamath River, their blueprint for curricular change spoke more to Collier's and Beatty's romanticized visions of indigenous life than to the realities of the reservations and rancherias they had just visited. "Homemaking for girls," they began, "should consist of a more primitive type, as wood stoves were all we found in the homes on the entire trip." Sneddon and Schnarr asserted that young men should be trained for proficiency in small-scale subsistence farming, stating that "more emphasis should be placed on vegetable gardening, fruit raising . . . chickens, rabbits, turkeys, cows, goats, and sheep."[39]

While training in subsistence farming surely provided some usable skills to those students who chose to return to the reservation after leaving Sherman, these recommendations ignored one of the crucial pieces of information gathered by Sneddon and Schnarr: by and large, Indians at Hoopa Valley and the Klamath River earned their livelihood in the fishing, lumber, and construction industries. Like indigenous communities across the western United States, Native peoples in Northern California had integrated mobility and wage labor into their cultures as they coped with the economic difficulties of reservation life. Even if Sneddon, Schnarr, and others found that Native people at Hoopa Valley and elsewhere frequently left reservations to earn wages, they produced reservation inspection narratives and curricula that fit the romanticized views of the Indian Office. If Collier and Beatty wanted federal Indian boarding schools to prepare Indians to eke out marginal existences on impoverished reservations, then that was what they would do.[40]

Subsequent "educational tours" followed the formula provided by Sneddon and Schnarr. Visiting the Toulumne Rancheria near Sacramento in June

1941, Superintendent Biery observed that most Native families there drew their livelihood from migrant labor in the lumber and agricultural industries. Yet his prescription for economic improvement centered on a vision of Native subsistence farmers who would live in harmony with nature. "I feel that this place could be a very prosperous community," he said, "if the people were taught how to live by subsistence methods."[41]

As he toured Native communities between Redding and Sacramento, Biery found only two kinds of families: those who kept subsistence-oriented gardens and those who did not. Commenting on a home near Loyalton, he described an idyllic, subsistence-centered scene: "They live in good homes, raise chickens, berries, and vegetables. Two of the boys had been fishing in a lake near the sawmill and had caught several fair sized trout." Later, he described a family near Quincy who chose wage labor over extensive gardening. "These families do not live in very good homes," he wrote. "They do not have any gardens or other means to assist them with the small yearly income they earn working in the forests."[42]

Even if he did so in an oblique way, Biery followed the lead of Sneddon and Schnarr. By commenting positively on those families who chose subsistence agriculture and chiding those who engaged in seasonal migration and wage labor in the logging industry, he subtly reaffirmed the vision for Indian education that trickled down from Collier and Beatty. In Collier's imagined future, Indian peoples would inhabit distinctly indigenous spaces of reservations and live by performing distinctly indigenous forms of labor, such as hunting, gathering, and engaging in small-scale subsistence farming. As Sneddon, Schnarr, and Biery toured reservations and rancherias, they played on Collier's romanticized visions in order to better position themselves for continued funding from the Office of Indian Affairs. If Collier wanted distinct Indian communities doing distinctly Indian things, then Sherman Institute would be happy to oblige.

By the end of the 1930s, the romanticized visions of indigenous peoples espoused by Collier finally penetrated the classrooms of Indian schools operated by the Office of Indian Affairs. As Schnarr prepared for the 1938–39 school year, she prefaced her annual curriculum with words that almost perfectly captured the curricular changes prescribed by the Office of Indian Affairs. "It is with the hope," she said, "that this course of study will better fit the girls for life among their own people after leaving Sherman Institute." For the most part, the girls' vocational program at Sherman continued to function much as it always had. Young women spent the first half of the day in academic instruction—English, history, mathematics, and home sciences—and the last half performing labor

related to the upkeep of the school: doing laundry, cooking and serving food, and sewing school uniforms, among other things. A lucky few took courses in nursing and cosmetology. However, much of the curriculum was colored by the explicit goal expressed by Schnarr: to prepare students for "life among their own people."[43]

In 1939, Schnarr surveyed female students at Sherman on the material condition of their childhood home in order to get a better sense of what "life among their own people" was really like. The questions she addressed revealed much about her plans for the curriculum at Sherman Institute. What kind of stove did their parents use? Did they have hot water? Did they have electricity? Did they live in cities, towns, or on rural reservation plots? Her survey indicated that most students had grown up in a home with a wood-burning stove, no hot water, and no electricity. Instead of teaching the skills and perspectives that might have helped young women at Sherman to achieve better material conditions, Schnarr crafted a special home science curriculum designed to prepare them to live under the same conditions they had endured in their early years. In her advanced foods course, she taught her students to raise, prepare, and preserve vegetables, grains, and poultry. Perhaps more tellingly, she also compiled a list of twenty-six "Indian" recipes, and students prepared these meals in her food science course.[44]

To be sure, Schnarr's courses provided usable knowledge to the young women of Sherman Institute, including information on health, hygiene, and disease.[45] But her curriculum suggested a very particular vision for the futures of Sherman students, one that differed fundamentally from the ideas that had driven curricula in boarding schools for the preceding half-century. Where Sherman had once focused on forcing young Native Americans to behave less like Indians and more like white, Protestant Americans, it now worked to funnel students into one particular space: the reservation.

If Collier's education policies pushed Native people back onto reservations, so too did the work programs he sponsored under the umbrella of Roosevelt's New Deal. The IECW, later rebranded as the Indian CCC, or CCC-ID, served as a separate CCC for Native people. Commissioner Rhoads pushed for this Indian-only version of CCC as he finished his last days in office in 1933. Collier continued this effort after his appointment as commissioner, and he received an appropriation to pilot the Indian CCC in the summer of 1933. Reservation agents created projects according to local needs, with special emphasis on improving reservation lands for forestry, ranching, and subsistence farming.[46]

Most communities welcomed on-reservation opportunities for wage labor, and projects often drew more applicants than available jobs. Nationwide,

twenty-five thousand Native people worked for the CCC-ID during its first season. While the CCC hired only single men and required them to reside in camps adjacent to work sites, the CCC-ID often allowed Native workers to live in camps with their families, or even at home. Collier also insisted that reservation agents allow employees to work without the season-long contracts required by the CCC. Moreover, camps began offering training in basic literacy and the operation of heavy equipment beginning in 1938. The Office of Indian Affairs geared these training programs toward the war industries beginning in 1940 and until the CCC-ID ceased operations under the strain of the war economy in 1942. By that time, eighty-five thousand Native people had drawn wages under the program.[47]

The reservation-based administration of these programs meant that few Native people accessed the CCC-ID through outing programs at Sherman Institute or in Los Angeles. Students were more likely to get these jobs if they went back to their home community. In the summer of 1939, for example, Sherman students Ralph Yuma, Robert Escalanti, and Robert Taylor each earned between five and twenty-five dollars as they participated briefly in irrigation projects funded by the CCC-ID on the Fort Yuma Reservation. Officials at Sherman Institute encouraged alumni who resided on reservations to seek employment through the program, and they wrote letters of recommendation to that effect. An employment survey sent to alumni in September 1933 stated somewhat bleakly, "We hope you have been successful in getting work with the CCC if you needed help. Many of our former students are working in the CCC camps."[48]

A few students from Sherman worked for the regular CCC when projects in Southern California needed extra help. For the most part, however, the Indian and regular CCC remained neatly segregated by race, with local administrators insisting that they could hire only white employees. One such incident occurred in the summer of 1935. The Forest Service employee in charge of a CCC camp in the Cleveland National Forest replied to an inquiry from Sherman Superintendent Biery about sending his students to work by stating that "we feel it best not to confuse matters by placing Indians in our camps."[49]

While the CCC-ID had few connections to outing programs at Sherman Institute and in Los Angeles, its design and implementation shed important light on the shift away from urban wage labor and toward a vision of indigenous people as rural, culturally cohesive, self-contained communities. That the program required workers to be in residence on reservations, and that it allowed Native people to live in family units rather than as single men in work camps spoke volumes about how leaders within Indian affairs viewed Native

people as separate from the broader body politic of the United States. Just as importantly, the swift enrollment of Native people in CCC-ID programs represented the flexibility of indigenous communities in approaching federal programs and using them for their own purposes. Thousands of Native people in communities across the western United States had become experts in federal bureaucracy as they navigated outing programs in Southern California and elsewhere during the first decades of the twentieth century. Now, as economic upheaval brought rapid change to the colonial system in which they operated, Native communities used that expertise in order to adapt and move forward under changing labor regimes.

During the 1930s, the Office of Indian Affairs also began emphasizing the production of curios for sale as an important component within a larger effort to push Indians back onto reservations. The push for Indian handicrafts at Sherman Institute came amid a rise in the popularity of the arts and crafts movement in the United States and Britain. Many historians have attributed the sudden rise in arts and crafts, both Indian and otherwise, to a broad reaction against what historian Margaret D. Jacobs has called the "mass culture of imitation" promoted by the rise of industrialization. Concerned that industrialized patterns of production and consumption destroyed community-centered modes of production and devalued material goods, supporters of arts and crafts sought out what they perceived as "authentic" experiences by purchasing goods associated with pre-industrial cultures and modes of production.[50]

Eager to create a market for the therapeutic purchase of so-called primitive wares, hotel magnate and restaurateur Fred Harvey worked in cooperation with the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad Company to create a series of trading posts and hotels where consumers could purchase Indian-made rugs, baskets, jewelry, and other curios. At many of his hotels and trading posts Harvey built "Indian rooms" where tourists could watch Native people produce curios in "Indian" settings. By allowing customers to peer into the primitive past, Harvey's Indian rooms served to "stage authenticity while stoking consumer desires." Harvey's ploy worked. During the first three decades of the twentieth century the buying and selling of "primitive" Native curios became a major preoccupation of the American middle and upper classes.[51]

The Indian Office took a hands-off approach as popular interest in Indian arts and crafts grew. In the 1920s, Indian reformers Elizabeth Huff and Clara True pushed for the incorporation of indigenous art into the curricula of government Indian schools, and by 1928 the authors of the Meriam Report blasted the Office of Indian Affairs for keeping Indian art out of its curriculum. By the

time Collier assumed leadership of the Office of Indian Affairs, Indian activists and government officials agreed that the federal government should support Native artists in order to keep their art forms alive. How to do so became the subject of intense debate, with reform-minded white artists, educators, and bureaucrats arguing bitterly over whether federal officials should promote Native art as a means to make money or solely for purposes of cultural preservation. Collier argued for a middle ground between profit and artistic integrity, and his vision ultimately trumped those who argued that further connecting Native artisans to the market might debase the cultural significance of their work.[52]

Collier gave Indian art special attention as commissioner of Indian affairs. He pushed to create jobs for Native writers and artists within the WPA.[53] Additionally, he created the Indian Arts and Crafts Board in order to ensure the quality of Indian-made arts and crafts and help Native communities to find markets for their products. Concerned that Native communities were producing too many arts and crafts too quickly, Collier proposed a plan under which the Indian Arts and Crafts Board would certify traders to place a government seal on products that met minimum standards of quality and cultural authenticity. By pushing to maximize both the quality and the accessibility of Native-made crafts, Collier sought to "preserve, enrich, and protect from factory-made imitations the rapidly disappearing and unique Indian crafts." In so doing, he ignored long-established connections between Native artisans and traders, and he dismissed any possibility that indigenous communities might best judge the balance between quantity and quality of their products. Nonetheless the plan moved forward, and Congress approved the creation of a five-person Indian Arts and Crafts Board in 1935. The Board enacted a short-lived program under which traders would utilize a government seal of approval for high-quality products, but their biggest impact came via Indian art exhibitions they organized at the San Francisco Exhibition of 1939 and New York's Museum of Modern Art in 1941.[54]

Indian schools around the country began embracing Native arts and crafts even before the formation of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board. Sherman Institute was no exception. Instruction in arts and crafts took place as early as 1930, when the school employed a Navajo matron who taught female students to weave rugs and embroider "in regular Indian fashion."[55] In the fall of 1931, Sherman Superintendent of Vocational Instruction Herman Snodgrass returned from a conference on Indian education ready to make the production of Indian curios a central element of girls' vocational training at Sherman. "In promoting the development of a self-supporting Indian," declared Snodgrass, "the value of handicrafts are recognized as a factor worth cultivating."[56]

Beatty, who sat on the Indian Arts and Crafts board, pushed to integrate arts and crafts into the curricula at federal Indian schools. Following Collier's lead, administrators at Sherman searched for a middle ground between utility and authenticity as they developed a handicraft curriculum. Snodgrass asserted that training in handicrafts should serve first and foremost to "promote the economic advancement of the Indian." Even as he prioritized profit, however, he recognized the need for the perception of authenticity among prospective consumers. He argued that the colors and shapes of Indian curios could be modified "to satisfy the buying public," but that "the Indian designs and its [*sic*] religious significances must be recognized." Concerned with the possible proliferation of cheap knockoffs, he argued that the Office of Indian Affairs should develop a standardized trademark for curios produced at federal Indian boarding schools in order to protect their "historic and other meanings." Looking to boost perceived authenticity of crafts produced at boarding schools, Snodgrass suggested that Indian employees should teach the courses wherever possible. Finally, he argued that curios produced at boarding schools should be marketed and sold only by boarding school staff or reservation superintendents. If students at Sherman Institute were to gain self-sufficiency through the manufacture and sale of Indian handicrafts, they would do so only with employees of the Office of Indian Affairs dictating price and authenticity of their products. The brand of economic independence proposed by Snodgrass proved a strange one indeed.[57]

Concern among Sherman administrators for producing authentic Indian crafts subsided by 1936. In her curriculum for the 1936–37 school year at Sherman Institute, Indian Arts and Crafts teacher Carmen Griffin declared, "The object of the class was not to perpetuate the old forms of Indian arts and crafts entirely, but to study them, understand and appreciate them, and develop new forms related to and worthy of succeeding the old ones." For basic grounding in "Indian" techniques and designs, students consulted books written by white anthropologists.[58] They made distinctly "Indian" crafts, such as buckskin moccasins, Pueblo-style pots, and cradles, using distinctly "Indian" techniques: weaving, beadwork, cross-stitching, and embroidery, among others. Students also produced everyday household objects spruced up with "Indian" designs, including neckties, couch throws, scarves, shawls, towels, and tablecloths.[59]

The crystallization of an Indian arts curriculum at Sherman reveals some important trends. Adherence to tribally specific ways of producing curios took a backseat to notions of profitability. Students worked only nominally within tribal traditions, as the items they produced and the techniques they used to

produce them came mostly from white anthropologists and teachers, not tribal elders. School officials designed instruction in the arts and crafts with the intention that it would "better fit the girls for life among their own people after leaving Sherman Institute."[60] In the eyes of school administrators, after leaving Sherman Institute women would perform distinctly "Indian" labor within distinctly "Indian" spaces. Just as Sherman's academic curriculum reflected the notion that Indians did not need intense academic training, and just as Sherman's vocational curricula sought increasingly to channel students into reservation-based, subsistence-style lives, the development of the curio trade curriculum at Sherman suggested to students that their future would be tied inextricably to the land bases associated with their tribal identities.

The curriculum at Sherman had not always been so deeply and uniquely tied to notions of Indianness. Since the late 1960s, historians of education have argued that common and industrial schools of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries served to proletarianize students and provide a cheap, stable, and placid working class—an argument that aptly describes education at Sherman Institute and other federal Indian boarding schools, as K. Tsianina Lomawaima has noted.[61] If education at Sherman Institute shared at least some roots with the common and industrial schools for students of other ethnicities, the curricular changes of the 1930s represented a turn away from broader educational trends. Leadership changes within the upper echelons of the Office of Indian Affairs had finally flowed through seemingly every vein of the Indian Office. Critical aspects of the curriculum came to hinge on the idea that Native people should live within distinctly "Indian" spaces and perform distinctly "Indian" labor. The wild-eyed idealism of Collier and the sharp ethnocentrism of Beatty combined to extinguish the last remnants of Pratt's vision for the total elimination of Native cultures, languages, and identities by way of assimilation into the body politic of the United States. On the surface, at least, these changes appeared at least somewhat positive for indigenous communities. The cultures and languages that had once drawn scorn and fear from government officials now received respect, praise, and even calls for preservation.

However well-intentioned the visions of Collier and Beatty may have been, they did not always bring positive results to Indian country. To be sure, the ability to freely speak Native languages and practice indigenous forms of culture and spirituality brought relief to many communities. Yet in the half-century before the drastic reforms of the 1930s, many Native people had become adept at navigating the bureaucracy of the Office of Indian Affairs. If labor curricula and outing programs at federal Indian boarding schools such as Sherman Institute

sought in part to erase indigenous cultural identities, they also became vessels to jobs and housing in Los Angeles and other cities. Now, however, the strange bedfellows of economic depression and a newfound respect for indigenous cultures brought an end to curricula and programs that Native people used to find work in urban areas. Native communities across the American Southwest would have to adjust.

Relatively few indigenous voices cut through the records related to curricular changes at Sherman Institute. Those that do, however, suggest that students and their families did not always agree that these changes were "practical." As Sneddon and Schnarr jumped between the reservations and rancherias of Northern California, they noticed a few Native people pushing back against the rising tide of lowered expectations and physical segregation. At the Hoopa Valley Reservation the pair noted "a strong feeling that the Indian school is not as efficient as the local public schools. They [the Native students] want to study the same as the white children and they feel that because the Indian school does not pattern after the local white school, they are not being educated." Visiting the Susanville Rancheria, Biery found that Native people there had a different conception of "usefulness" than the one espoused at Sherman. Where school officials bought fully into the newfound fascination with the Indian subsistence farmer, Native people at Susanville desired skills to help engage urban wage labor markets. "Many girl students are interested in typing," wrote Biery, "and the boys in trades essential to the defense program." Another young woman at the Susanville Rancheria stated even more explicitly that Indian education should prepare students for urban life, noting that jobs were plentiful in Los Angeles and that she planned to join her sister there as soon as she had the money to leave.[62]

Filtered through Sneddon, Schnarr, and Biery though they may be, these statements suggest resistance to the idea that Indians should live within the distinctly "Indian" spaces of reservations and engage in distinctly "Indian" activities such as maintaining subsistence garden plots. After decades spent surviving within depressed reservation economies, indigenous families in Northern California had already learned how to subsist on the meager resources at hand. Ben Reifel, a Lakota, captured the sentiment of many Native people toward the changes in education policy brought by the Indian New Deal when he said that while students at boarding schools benefited from learning how to raise rabbits and chickens, they often "failed to learn how to read and write" under the new curricula.[63] In Northern California, many Native people suggested to Sneddon, Schnarr, and Biery that federal Indian education should provide tools

for economic security and occupational flexibility—not the subsistence skills that so many Native families had already mastered out of necessity. But Native protest against these changes went unheeded, and labor programs operated by the Office of Indian Affairs ceased to benefit indigenous communities as they had during the first three decades of the twentieth century. If Native people were to continue to use the Office of Indian Affairs for the benefit of their communities, they would have to adjust their approach to an ethnocentric and unresponsive bureaucracy, just as they had so many times before.

As Collier fought desperately to garner support for the reforms proposed under his Indian Reorganization Act, opportunities arose in an unexpected area: higher education. Beginning in the late 1920s, students at Sherman Institute and other federal Indian boarding schools successfully pushed the Office of Indian Affairs to provide tuition assistance, loans, and housing as they pursued college degrees. Students received loans for housing and tuition on a case-by-case basis until 1933, when Collier built a fund for educational loans into his Indian Reorganization Act. As opportunities to use programs of the Office of Indian Affairs to obtain wage labor and housing in cities such as Los Angeles waned, hundreds of American Indians used these loans and scholarships to attend colleges and universities across the United States. Many lived on campuses of federal Indian boarding schools and attended classes at nearby institutions. A significant cohort of students who used Sherman Institute and other boarding schools as conduits into colleges and universities demonstrated a keen ability to navigate government bureaucracies and make them more responsive to their needs. As these students moved into colleges and universities, they creatively used an otherwise deeply ethnocentric bureaucracy to forge modern pathways into the twentieth century—just as their predecessors had with labor programs.[64]

At Sherman Institute, support for students attending college began in 1928, when five students who would soon graduate asked Superintendent Frank Conser about the possibility of rooming at Sherman and attending Riverside Junior College.[65] Conser advocated for them, writing an impassioned letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Rhoads. Noting that critics of the Office of Indian Affairs attacked the lack of continuity between boarding schools and colleges and universities, Conser argued that the chance to room at Sherman and attend Riverside Junior College provided "a splendid opportunity for these young people to gain a further education."[66]

After two months of deliberation, the Office of Indian Affairs gave Conser permission to allow students to live at Sherman and attend Riverside Junior

College. Like all elements of the Indian bureaucracy, living at Sherman and attending junior college came with a host of regulations. Students would have to maintain a B average or better, and they could room at the school only if their presence did not deny places to regular students. They could maintain housing at Sherman by working twelve hours a week or paying fifteen dollars per month. Finally, a special stipulation: students would have to appear clean enough as to be "a credit to the Indian race" as they walked the halls of academia. Over the next two years a handful of students lived at Sherman and attended Riverside Junior College.[67]

Thanks in part to increasing demand from graduates of boarding schools, Commissioner Rhoads formalized and expanded the scholarship and loan program between 1929 and 1931. He hired Ruth Muskrat Bronson, a Cherokee, to standardize and expand the programs. A graduate of Haskell Institute and Mount Holyoke College, Bronson began administering college loans and scholarships for the Indian Office in 1932. In her new position she oversaw a complicated process. Students requesting support for vocational training or college had to produce a handwritten letter of application, transcripts, four letters of recommendation, and pass a physical. Students who wanted to live at a boarding school and attend a nearby college or university needed the approval of the superintendent of the host institution. The application packet went first to a scholarship committee made up of five employees of the boarding school from which the student graduated. If approved, the application went to the superintendent of the student's home agency, who could reject it or send it to Bronson for final approval. Students could borrow between fifty and two hundred dollars per academic year, with total borrowing not to exceed one thousand dollars.[68]

When Collier became commissioner of Indian affairs in 1933, he turned the scholarship and loan program into a reward for tribes who ratified the Indian Reorganization Act. The Act created a $250,000 fund for loans related to higher education, which Collier made available to members of tribes who voted for it. In addition, the education division provided students with up to seventy-five dollars of scholarship money each year for tuition and fees. Collier kept Bronson in charge of the process.[69]

The development of a college loan program by the Office of Indian Affairs proved more than a little ironic, especially from a Collier administration that had become increasingly bent on preparing young Native people to spend their lives within the confines of reservations. Both Collier and Beatty agreed, however, that the scholarship and loan program would help to prepare the most

qualified graduates of boarding schools for careers in the Office of Indian Affairs. Beatty saw little possibility of Native people being smart or talented enough to use college degrees as springboards into careers beyond the bureaucracy of the Office of Indian Affairs. He warned against letting the scholarship and loan program become a "cheap way for the student . . . to attend Riverside Junior College," even asserting that college courses would be of "doubtful worth to the student" who did not have a job waiting with the Indian Office. In Beatty's mind, the loan and scholarship program would be a small exception within a larger push to place Native people back within the confines of reservations.[70]

Regardless of the intent behind the loan and scholarship program as it operated under Collier, it offered very real benefits to Native students. Under the terms of the Indian Reorganization Act, students continued receiving up to two hundred dollars per year in educational loans and up to seventy-five dollars in scholarships to cover tuition and related expenses such as books, meals, and transportation. Given the costs of attending college during the late 1920s and early 1930s, this was no paltry sum. For example, Riverside Junior College charged twenty dollars per year in tuition throughout the 1930s, and the cost of books came in at around thirty-five dollars per year.[71]

The expansion of the loan and scholarship funds under Collier drew more students to the program. The number of students living at Sherman Institute and attending Riverside Junior College grew from two in 1928–29 to twenty-two in 1934–35 and 1935–36 (see Table 4.1). Moreover, the school received applications from students who had never attended Sherman. Most came from reservations in Southern California. Claren Yarger and Sylvia Angel, both of Cahuilla descent, had attended public high schools in Southern California. Yarger planned to become a pilot, and Angel a teacher. Both arrived at Sherman Institute in the fall of 1934 anxious to take prerequisite courses at little or no cost.[72]

Others came from as far away as Oregon and Oklahoma to live at the school and attend Riverside Junior College. Kirby Lee Anderson, a Choctaw, hailed from Ada, Oklahoma. He graduated from Haskell Institute in 1934, earning As and Bs in academic and carpentry courses. Anderson's parents died before he finished at Haskell, and so he planned to move to California to be nearer his sister in Fresno. When a mentor at Haskell encouraged him to attend college and study to become a teacher, Riverside Junior College became a natural choice. "I want to be a *teacher*," wrote Anderson. "Therefore it is obvious that I should have a college education." He submitted an application for a loan, complete with three glowing letters of recommendation from his teachers at Haskell. A seventy-five-dollar loan from the Office of Indian Affairs came shortly

TABLE 4.1. Students Residing at Sherman Institute and Attending Riverside Junior College, 1929–1939

Year	Number of Students
1929–30	2
1933–34	9
1934–35	22
1935–36	22
1937–38	10
1938–39	11

Sources: Report of Survey of Work at Sherman Institute Made by Carl Moore, Supervisor of Indian Education, January 22, 1930, and February 2, 1930, Box 19, Folder: 8281-1930, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Donald Biery to Ruth Muskrat Bronson, June 28, 1934, Box 37, Folder: Junior College Students, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Grades from Riverside Junior College, 1934–35, Box 26, Folder: 54787-1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Riverside Junior College Students Living at Sherman Institute, 1935–36, Box 26, Folder: 54787-1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Sherman Institute Boys' Supervisor A. J. Pellettieri to Homer Howard, January 20, 1938, Box 26, Folder: 54787-1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Donald Biery to California State Superintendent of Indian Education Mary Stewart, December 19, 1938, Box 26, Folder: 54787-1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

thereafter. Anderson lived at Sherman Institute and attended classes at Riverside Junior College. During summers he stayed with his sister in Fresno, where he worked and saved money. Noting that the loans he obtained from the Office of Indian Affairs would not cover all of his expenses, Anderson explained that summer work would allow him to "pay my own way through school."[73]

Randolph Baker, a classmate of Anderson, also managed to make his way west in order to attend college. A Ute from Ignacio, Colorado, Baker cited the temperate climate as one reason he applied to live at Sherman and attend Riverside Junior College. But he also demonstrated a keen awareness of the bureaucratic rationale behind the scholarship and loan program by sharing plans to use his college education in order to begin a career as a teacher within the Office of Indian Affairs. Like Anderson, Baker received a seventy-five-dollar loan to attend Riverside Junior College, where he excelled in English and social studies.[74]

By 1936, Biery provided students who lived at Sherman Institute and attended Riverside Junior College with their own housing units, separated from the dormitories used by regular students at Sherman. He also gave them a greater degree of independence than those enrolled at Sherman, as their living quarters included a kitchen and dining area, allowing them to forgo the dining hall. This came much to the chagrin of Bronson. Visiting Sherman Institute in

the fall of 1936, she "found the college boys living in a very dirty house. . . . I visited the dining room and found food all over the table where the college students were sitting—pushed out of plates as animals might root it out of the way." Bronson argued that allowing students to live independently might endanger the goal of using the college loan and scholarship program to train Indian employees for the Office of Indian Affairs: "These living conditions for students we expect to act like civilized people when they become teachers in our Service!"[75]

As word of the scholarship and loan program spread across Indian country, Native people used government support to attend a growing number of colleges and universities. In California, graduates of Sherman attended Redlands University, San Diego State University, and the University of California campuses at Santa Barbara, Los Angeles, and Berkeley.[76] At least eight other federal Indian boarding schools replicated the relationship between Sherman Institute and Riverside Junior College (see Table 4.2). Bacone College, a private institution for American Indians located in Muskogee, Oklahoma, joined Riverside Junior College as a popular destination for graduates of boarding schools.[77] During the Collier years, then, the college scholarship and loan fund became a significant program, used by a growing number of students from across Indian country.

Elmer Miller provides another window into the lives of Native people who used the Office of Indian Affairs and its boarding schools to gain access to higher education. Born in 1912 to a Cahuilla mother and a Mojave father, Miller moved to Los Angeles with his family following the death of his father in 1918. In 1926, Miller's mother sent him Sherman Institute. Gregarious and friendly, Miller formed tight bonds with teachers, administrators, and fellow students. He graduated in 1929. In the fall of 1930, as the United States spiraled into economic depression, Miller returned to Sherman Institute. Taking advantage of an opportunity that had been available to select graduates of Sherman Institute since at least 1922, he lived at the boarding school and attended the local public high school, Riverside Polytechnic. Thus Miller had the best of both worlds: a more advanced education and free room and board. Good grades and strong recommendations earned him a place at Riverside Junior College in the fall of 1933.[78]

In the fall of 1934, Miller enrolled at the University of California, Berkeley. On a warm night in August, just after he had arrived in the Bay Area, he trudged away from the campus and into the hills that overlooked the school. He walked a half-mile down College Avenue, a stately boulevard lined with oversized fraternity houses, until he reached the International House, a dormitory that overlooked the sixty-thousand-seat California Memorial Football

TABLE 4.2. Colleges and Universities Available to Students on Working Scholarships

Boarding School	Location	Local College/University
Sherman Institute	Riverside, CA	Riverside Junior College
Chemawa Indian School	Salem, OR	Willamette University
Albuquerque Indian School	Albuquerque, NM	University of New Mexico
Mount Pleasant Indian School	Mount Pleasant, MI	Central State Teachers' College
Phoenix Indian School	Phoenix, AZ	Tempe State Teachers' College
Rapid City Indian School	Rapid City, SD	South Dakota School of Mines
Wahpeton Indian School	Wahpeton, ND	Wahpeton School of Science
Haskell Institute	Lawrence, KA	University of Kansas
Sequoyah Training School	Tahlequah, OK	Northeastern State College

Source: "Higher Education Opportunities for Indian Youth," *Chemawa American* 35, no. 13, March 28, 1934, Box 4, Office File of Mary Stewart, Assistant Director of Indian Education, 1929–36, Entry 724, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

Stadium. The sounds of football practice and fraternity social events drifting through his window, a weary Miller sat at the desk of his sparsely furnished dormitory and wrote to friends and family back home. Earlier in the day he had begun his college experience with the crushing boredom and confusion of registration. When he took his place in line at half past ten, the line already stretched for half a mile. Eleven thousand students attended Berkeley in 1934, and Miller estimated that at least half the student body stood in front of him as he waited to choose his classes. By the end of the afternoon he had finally enrolled in classes in botany, zoology, philosophy, and algebra. After a day spent standing, waiting, and worrying, Miller reported that he felt as if his head "was in the fog" that so often descended over the San Francisco Bay.[79]

In the coming weeks, his worries grew more intense as bureaucratic snags held up his financial aid. Opportunities for problems abounded as hundreds of application packets passed among admissions committees at boarding schools, Indian agents, the office of Ruth Muskrat Bronson, and finally the colleges and universities to be attended by the applicants. When Miller went to pick up his loan of $150 from the registrar, the money was not there. After a two-week round of correspondence between Miller, Bronson, and officials at Sherman Institute, he discovered that his loan had been sent to the University of California in Los Angeles rather than the Berkeley campus. Officials at the Indian Office explained that they simply assumed that Miller would attend his hometown university, and that the "Berkeley" on his application had been a typo. Miller

reported being "a bit on edge in the interim" as he negotiated a month-long reprieve from rent at his dormitory and scrounged for cheap meals.[80]

Alongside the potential for logistical problems, the application process provided bureaucrats with opportunities to place paternalistic imprints on the educational careers of applicants. Asbury Gilbert, a Paiute and a graduate of Sherman Institute, applied for a scholarship and a loan from the Office of Indian Affairs to attend the National Diesel School in Los Angeles. Bronson, who processed and forwarded all applications for college loans and aid virtually by herself, lost one of Gilbert's letters of recommendation. As he waited an entire year to reapply, Gilbert married Mary Crazybear, a recently widowed mother of two. News of the marriage made its way to Bronson, who angrily informed Gilbert that he could no longer receive government aid for his schooling. "Since hearing of your marriage," wrote Bronson, "we assumed that you would not be interested in continuing in school and have not held out tuition funds for you." The message was both paternalistic and clear: as a father, you will work and earn money—not go to school. A seemingly benign application process reached its hands into the most intimate details of Gilbert's life. He returned to a job that paid him twenty-four dollars a week to pack paint into cans, a monotonous routine he had sought to escape by attending diesel school.[81]

Lack of academic preparation hampered recipients of loans and scholarships even more than the cumbersome application process. Richard Henry Pratt set the academic blueprint for federal Indian boarding schools when he opened the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1878. Pratt believed Indians to be every bit as capable of academic learning as their white counterparts. Frustration over the perceived inability of the federal government to assimilate Native people came to a head during the early twentieth century, and curricula at federal Indian boarding schools abandoned any pretense of preparing Native people for intellectual equality. At Sherman Institute, Pratt's academic vision had become a flickering memory by the 1930s. School administrators encouraged teachers to keep curricula mind-numbingly simple. In 1928, for example, an assistant principal condemned an English teacher for encouraging students to deconstruct the motivations of characters in a story. Literary skills, he said, would be lost on Indians.[82]

Academic curricula fueled by ethnocentrism and low expectations left even the brightest students ill prepared for colleges and universities. Elmer Miller received sterling marks at Sherman and later maintained a B average at Riverside Junior College. During his time at Berkeley his initial correspondences suggested that his academic success would continue. He balanced a full course

load with a job "executing rats and removing their brains, which are used in psychology experiments." On weekends he often ventured into neighboring Oakland, where he made connections with Native people from across the United States at the local YWCA. Commenting on the lively social agenda orchestrated by Mildred Van Every, a social worker for the YWCA who worked exclusively with Native people in the Bay Area, Miller wrote that she would very likely "find Sherman Institute's sewing circle very boring, if you get what I mean."[83]

In January 1935, just as life in Northern California seemed to fall into place, Miller received what he called "a sudden jolt" in the form of poor grades. Writing to Bronson, he reported that "Uncle Sam's investment in my academic welfare for the last semester took a dive to a dismal low. Now I know what it feels like to go down in grade points, and plenty of them at one time." Miller did not last the full year in Berkeley. The following year, he transferred to UCLA, but his academic struggles continued. He never graduated college.[84]

Miller's struggles paled in comparison to those endured by most of his peers. He sailed through courses at Riverside Junior College; most graduates of Sherman Institute did not perform so well. In the fall of 1934, twenty-two students resided at Sherman Institute and enrolled for classes at Riverside Junior College. Only thirteen would complete the academic year.[85] Many wrote to Bronson to break the bad news of their academic troubles and seek advice. Claren Yarger enrolled at Riverside Junior College with dreams of becoming a pilot, but introductory math and science courses proved too difficult. "I have been attending junior college for three months now, and I admit that I have found my work hard for me," he wrote. "Should I drop out of school, I want you to know that I am not quitting, but that I aim to make good on some other field."[86]

Like Yarger, Edna Wesley struggled to keep up with college coursework. A Yakama, she graduated from Chemawa Indian School in 1933. Planning for a career in nursing, she took a job as a nursing assistant in the school hospital at Sherman Institute, earning $1,080 per year. A year later she obtained a two-hundred-dollar loan, a seventy-five-dollar scholarship, and room and board at Sherman to attend classes at Riverside Junior College, where she hoped to pass introductory courses before entering a nursing program at a hospital.[87] But Olive Ellis, the head matron at Sherman, reported that she "simply lacked the ability to accomplish the work required." Wesley received mostly Ds in her first quarter. Her academic struggles took a steep toll, and Ellis reported that the young Yakama was quick to shed tears when confronted over her difficulties at school. By the end of her first academic year Wesley had given up on school. Each morning, she left her room at Sherman and pretended to attend classes

at Riverside Junior College. Instead, however, she rode past the school and into downtown Riverside, where she whiled away the hours before returning to Sherman at night. Subpar academic training in federal Indian schools had left her underprepared for college, and her dreams of a career in nursing quickly dissipated.[88]

Along with lack of academic preparation, finances often presented a substantial hurdle to students in the scholarship and loan program. Kirby Lee Anderson, the Choctaw graduate of Haskell, earned a C average at Riverside Junior College during the 1934–35 academic year. He left abruptly at the end of the year, however, citing a lack of funds. With a B average in 1933–34, Cahuilla student Raymond Magee earned better grades than Anderson, but Magee too dropped out of school. Seventy-five dollars simply did not stretch far enough.[89]

Not all students faced academic or financial difficulty.[90] Yet the travails of Miller and his fellow loan and scholarship recipients suggest an important truth: For three decades, federal Indian boarding schools geared their curricula toward molding their students into low-wage workers—not doctors, lawyers, or teachers. While the sudden appearance of a scholarship program might have provided graduates of boarding schools with the opportunity to attend colleges and universities, it could not undo the stark inadequacies of academic programs at federal Indian boarding schools.

Yet there is more to the story than just the poor preparation for colleges and universities provided by federal Indian boarding schools. Prospective students across Indian country reacted swiftly to the availability of money for college. Choctaws and Yakamas, Mojaves and Lakotas, Cahuillas and Klamaths shared dreams of becoming teachers, nurses, lawyers and diesel mechanics. They quickly learned to navigate an opaque and complicated application process. Some traveled great distances to receive free room and board while they attended school. In so doing, these students formed a vanguard of Native collegians well before the sit-ins and strikes of the 1960s.

Higher education narratives from Southern California reinforce another important theme, one that has grown louder within the scholarship of recent years: poverty and isolation did not completely define the experiences of indigenous communities of the early twentieth century. At Sherman Institute and elsewhere, Native collegians combined a deep knowledge of federal Indian bureaucracy with elements of geographic and social mobility as they became the first significant cohort of American Indians to attend colleges and universities. In the process, they made government support for college education into

one component of a diverse array of strategies for negotiating the challenges of the twentieth century.[91]

The closing of the outing center on Los Angeles's Normandie Avenue looked very much like the end of an era for the Office of Indian Affairs and the Native communities who navigated its labor programs. Just as a nose-diving economy left fewer jobs for indigenous migrants to Los Angeles and other urban centers, drastic changes in leadership at the Office of Indian Affairs pushed indigenous people away from cities and onto reservations. John Collier clung to a romanticized vision of indigenous life in which subsistence-oriented and reservation-based communities would offer a viable alternative to the greed, materialism, and exploitation of industrial capitalism. His director of Indian education, Willard Beatty, had a far more simplistic and pessimistic goal: to teach Indians the skills needed for reservation life so that they no longer moved to cities and took scarce jobs from non-Indian workers.

As always, then, Indian policy remained deeply tied to the ebbs and flows of the broader political economy of the United States. Funneling young Native people into cities to work as manual laborers and domestics made sense to politicians and bureaucrats only when jobs were plentiful. When the economy went bad and those jobs dried up, those in charge of Indian policy did not hesitate to stanch the flow of indigenous people into cities such as Los Angeles. Connections between state and national politics and on-the-ground decisions made by bureaucrats and politicians in charge of the Office of Indian Affairs highlight the limits of indigenous agency in approaching federal labor programs. To be sure, people from indigenous communities across the western United States learned to navigate the programs, and even to use them to the benefit of themselves, their families, and their people. But their knowledge of federal bureaucracy could not stop the rapid changes that came with the economic and political upheaval of the 1930s.

Even amid the shifting policies and expectations of the Office of Indian Affairs, many indigenous communities took levelheaded approaches to the Office of Indian Affairs and its programs. While changing ideas about Native peoples may have temporarily closed the door to state-sponsored access to urban wage labor markets for the long decade of the 1930s, indigenous people from across the United States continued to creatively engage with the U.S. government in order to sustain their communities and cultures, much as they had for a century and a half. As the window into urban job placements closed, the Indian New Deal opened new pathways into colleges, universities, and technical schools. Between 1928 and 1940, at least 2,500 Native people seized the opportunities

offered to the tribes in return for their ratification of the Indian New Deal. Many others took part in programs available to all Native people regardless of their acceptance or rejection of the IRA, including the IECW, the CCC-ID, and the National Youth Administration.[92]

Considered in isolation, the rise and fall of the outing center in Los Angeles looks somewhat like an aberration. Native people took measured approaches to a deeply flawed federal program and, in many cases, actually managed to draw from it some significant benefits. Almost as quickly as indigenous communities learned to use the outing center for their own good, an economic downturn combined with the changing whims of federal officials led to its closure. The outing center may have been a good thing for many, but it simply did not last.

Viewed with a wide-angle lens, however, the Los Angeles outing center was just one of many federal inventions to which Native people acclimated themselves. Since the late nineteenth century, indigenous peoples had demonstrated cultural ingenuity as they adjusted to the rise of the reservation system, the rapid proliferation of federal Indian boarding schools, and labor programs that sought to blend Native people into a malleable, low-wage working class. The sites of struggle shifted from the affluent homes and factory floors of Los Angeles to the classrooms of Riverside City College and the University of California, Berkeley, but the never-ending battle to creatively engage the Office of Indian Affairs in order to sustain Native communities and cultures continued.

Conclusion: Unthinkable Histories?

Native People, Bureaucracies, and Work

IN FEBRUARY 2012, I SAT INSIDE THE RESEARCH ROOM AT THE NATIONAL Archives in Perris, California, and worked furiously to finish photographing a box of documents before the end of the day. I struck up a conversation with the researcher seated next to me, who paged intently through bound volumes of documents, researching an issue related to tribal enrollment. As I listened to the fascinating details of the researcher's tribe and its history, I felt the unique blend of joy and guilt brought by a break from archival monotony for a conversation. Urgency quickly melted away from the task at hand.

After a few minutes my fellow researcher raised the much-dreaded question, "So what are you working on?" I briefly explained that I was studying Native labor in Southern California, and I mentioned the outing program at Sherman Institute. My new friend's eyes lit up. "Sherman!" The woman's uncle had attended the school during the 1930s. I asked her if her uncle had participated in the outing system at the school. "Sure. He loved it," she said, pausing to reflect for a moment. "He always talked about 'Dear Ole Sherman.' With the things they did to my uncle, it's unreal that he would say something like that." That her uncle might have managed to gain positive experiences from time spent at such a coercive and ethnocentric school seemed impossible.

In more ways than one, the researcher I met in the archives that day provided some important reminders about the boarding school experience. Sherman Institute and other boarding schools like it aimed to forever eradicate Native community identities. Sherman broke up families. It attempted to snuff out indigenous languages—sometimes successfully. It beat students. It killed them with disease. At different times and for many different people, Sherman Institute was a terrible place. If my new friend gave me some critical reminders about the violence done to Native people and cultures at federal Indian schools

during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, she also raised an important question: How to account for those who shrewdly navigated labor programs, both at federal Indian boarding schools and at the outing centers that appeared in the big cities of the West, without downplaying the violence that outing did to Native communities?

The narratives of Native people who negotiated outing systems in Southern California are not stories of pure joy or triumph. Rather they highlight the difficult choices made by people who maneuvered creatively within labor programs that aimed to erase their identities and cultures, to transform them into willing workers who would enter the so-called ladder of civilization at the bottom rung. On top of the challenges of communicating through barriers of language and culture, young women faced the constant threat of sexual advances from male members of outing households. They fought to keep in touch with friends from school and to maintain ties with their families and communities as they lived and labored within the confines of white households of Riverside and nearby towns. Young men in the outing system at Sherman Institute fought loneliness, isolation, and dangerous working conditions, and many struggled just to receive their hard-earned wages. Yet they often earned more money than they could on or near reservations. During the first decade of outing at Sherman Institute, Native students and their communities learned to survive the challenges of the outing system, and even to use it for their own purposes.

These trends continued as the outing system spread to Los Angeles in 1918. The outing cottage on Normandie Avenue became a hub for Native women from boarding schools and reservations across the American Southwest to find jobs and housing in the city. In many respects, the challenges encountered by these young women mirrored those faced by students who found work through labor programs at Sherman Institute: isolation, the threat of sexual advances by male household members, and frequent difficulty in securing payment from reluctant employers. As in Riverside, an underfunded labor bureaucracy staffed by well-meaning but harried employees provided little or no protection from these dangers. Layered atop these difficulties were the challenges of adjusting to life within a booming metropolis. Far from home, Native women who used the outing center to gain employment found themselves spread across the vast, smoggy, noisy expanse of early-twentieth-century Los Angeles.

Despite the hardships of domestic labor in the city, young women affiliated with the outing center developed tribal and intertribal social networks, which provided opportunities to socialize and find new jobs. They fought to create time and space beyond the gaze of their employers, sometimes slipping into

the parks and movie theaters of Los Angeles to build friendships and romances. They became adept in the language of federal administrators, touting the "uplifting" benefits of outing when school or reservation superintendents tried to call them home before they were ready to leave the city. By the time changes in leadership at the Office of Indian Affairs and the tightening grip of economic depression brought the outing system in Los Angeles to a close in 1933, Native people associated with the program had become experts in bureaucracy. If outing systems at Sherman Institute and in Los Angeles had been designed to speed the erasure of indigenous cultures and provide a pool of cheap laborers, they never completely met their purpose. Instead, outing programs often became paths to jobs, housing, and intertribal social networks in the city.

Narratives from the outing centers at Sherman Institute and in Los Angeles shed new light on the experiences of Native communities as they interacted with the colonizing power of the U.S. government during the early twentieth century. In Southern California, Native people took clear-eyed approaches to outing labor programs, drawing from them the most they could. By no means are these stories meant to obscure deeply ethnocentric roots of outing labor. Both the ideological moorings of outing systems and their terrible living and working conditions created stress, pain, and suffering that surely cannot be fully comprehended, let alone communicated, from the cozy armchair of the historian. Stories from the outing systems of Southern California demonstrate that, despite these challenges, many indigenous people managed to creatively engage these programs and bend them—sometimes subtly, sometimes explicitly—toward their own desires and purposes.

Native experiences in the outing system become even more important when viewed in the context of Indian policy after 1940, when employment in the war industries and participation in federal relocation programs once again brought Native people into urban centers. The onset of World War II brought a rush of employment opportunities for Native people within the war industries in Southern California. Just a few years earlier, officials at Sherman Institute had retooled their curriculum to better prepare students to survive on reservations. As war drew near, the same school officials undertook a curricular about-face, preparing young men to work for nearby plants and factories attached to the war effort, including Douglas Aircraft, Northrup Aircraft, Solar Aircraft, and the Union Oil shipyards. Twenty-two graduates of Sherman Institute found employment in the war industries during 1942 and 1943, joining forty thousand Native people working in the war industries nationwide. Outing experiences during the early twentieth century would provide a base of skills and

perspectives for Native families and communities who once again navigated federal programs that sought to assimilate them through urban living.[1]

In the search for cultural consensus that followed the war, lawmakers circled back to the idea that Native people could be fully assimilated if they could be removed from reservations and placed in cities. The Office of Indian Affairs began placing Navajos and Hopis in Salt Lake City and Los Angeles as early as 1948. In 1951, the Indian Office received federal appropriations to hire forty full-time staff to facilitate relocation in cities across the western United States. Relocation was paired with efforts at termination in 1954, when Congress passed House Concurrent Resolution 108, a bill that sought to formally sever the trust relationship between the federal government and tribes. Just as reformers and government officials had believed that the elixir of boarding schools and the Dawes Act would solve the so-called Indian problem during the late nineteenth century, they now argued that termination and relocation would at long last relieve the government of its costly obligations to the first peoples of the United States.[2]

Those who used the relocation bureaucracy as a pathway into the city underwent a process that loosely resembled the experiences of women who went on outing a generation earlier. Prospective relocatees first applied for the program with their local reservation agency. Reservation officials administered tests to determine vocational and academic skills, and those who scored high enough boarded buses to destinations across the western United States. Placement agents from the Indian Office brought them to temporary housing sites, often in ramshackle hotels located in downtrodden neighborhoods such as Los Angeles's Skid Row. Relocatees received twenty-five dollars per week for the first month, as well as assistance in locating jobs. In the early years of relocation they went directly to work; after 1956 they could enroll in vocational programs. Between 1952 and 1972, 100,000 Native people moved to cities under the banner of the relocation program. One third went to Los Angeles, and another thirty thousand ventured to the Southland without federal assistance.[3] In just a few short years, Collier's grand scheme to push Native people back onto reservations became a brief interlude between policies that sought to assimilate them by bringing them to cities.

Native experiences with outing programs at Sherman Institute and in Los Angeles provide new perspective on Native participation in the war industries during World War II and the relocation programs that followed. To be sure, scholars have already done much to enrich understandings of these policies. Historian Donald Fixico laid a policy-oriented foundation for the study of

relocation, and since then others have elucidated how Native people often managed to use relocation programs for purposes of self-determination and cultural preservation.[4] Outing narratives reframe these studies by placing them within a longer tradition in which Native communities took measured approaches to federal programs that helped them to enter cities and find work. Outing served far fewer people than relocation. While hard and fast numbers are difficult to come by, a few thousand people likely used outing programs in Los Angeles and at Sherman Institute, and similar numbers seem likely for other cities with outing programs, including Albuquerque, Phoenix, Tucson, and the San Francisco Bay Area. Meanwhile, more than 100,000 people found new homes and jobs via relocation. Yet within many communities, relocation programs did not constitute a rupture between a rural past and an urban future. Among Quechans and Mojaves, Navajos and Hopis, Pimas and Tohono O'odhams, alumni of outing programs gained valuable experience in navigating federal employment programs and using them to chart paths that were both urban and Native. As tens of thousands of Native people embarked on relocation journeys, then, they did not necessarily break from a rural tradition. Rather, they continued an urban one.

Narratives built around students and communities who creatively engaged government labor programs suggest important possibilities for how we think about relationships between indigenous peoples and the state structures that aimed at different times to control, improve, and erase them. Recent studies have challenged us to consider the experiences of Native people who moved beyond reservations as they pursued knowledge, work, and education. In the oft-quoted words of Philip J. Deloria, many Native people defied historical and contemporary expectations and ended up in "unexpected places."[5] Stories from the outing systems of Southern California suggest that even when Native people remained within the expected places of government bureaucracies, they could do unexpected things. Some won small victories, stealing hours to go to the movies or forming romantic relationships beyond the prying eyes of employers and outing matrons. Others managed grander feats, using labor programs meant to erase indigenous identities in order to make more money than they could on their reservations. Either way, participation within the outing systems of Southern California did not entail complete subjugation. On the contrary, many Native people managed to maneuver creatively within the structure of the outing system in order to achieve goals and aims of their own choosing.

This is not to argue that those who found themselves working within the outing system had complete control over their own destinies, or that they

somehow managed to forge totally positive experiences from time spent working in an ethnocentric and dangerously unsupervised program. Rather these stories suggest a more complex balance between structure and agency among Native peoples and the myriad structures erected by the federal government to control and change them. Even as they operated within the broader constraints imposed by the federal government and among the intimate, sometimes insidious influences of the employees who turned the gears of government programs, Native people managed to shape their own lives, often in ways informed by their cultures.[6]

In many ways, narratives of those who blended labor, culture, and migration as they negotiated their experiences with the Office of Indian Affairs still do not fit within popular or even scholarly narratives about indigenous communities of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many of these accounts have become trapped within a conceptual space that historian Daniel Usner has called "the invented opposition between authenticity and annihilation."[7] A potent combination of ideas and arguments holds them there. For hundreds of years, colonial and government officials centered prescriptions for the uplift and assimilation of Native peoples on labor. As missionaries and Indian agents worked desperately to convince Native communities of the merits of agriculture, for example, they overlooked the integral place that cultivated plants already had within the culture of many indigenous groups.[8] Much in the same way, officials from the Office of Indian Affairs remained blind to the increasingly important place of wage labor on resource-starved reservations as they preached the importance of hard work to Native people at Sherman Institute and other boarding schools across the American West. Where government officials acknowledged Indians who migrated and worked beyond the boundaries of reservations, they often did so only in service of the notion of assimilation. Indians who traveled and worked for wages, they argued, had shed their Native cultures in favor of white, Protestant ways. Assimilation had borne fruit. They were Indians no more.

If historical trends have hidden from view how indigenous peoples migrated and worked, so too have political and economic strategies adopted by some Native people. Historians Paige Raibmon and Erika Marie Bsumek noted that many Native communities integrated ideas about the so-called vanishing Indian into their business practices. As Indian arts and crafts became increasingly popular during the first decades of the twentieth century, Native artisans used to their advantage the notion that authentic indigenous wares would be a scarce commodity as fewer and fewer "real Indians" remained.[9] Moreover, when tribal

lands came under pressure from squatters and speculators, indigenous communities invoked deep and lasting connections with reservation landscapes in order to protect what land they had left. As Frederick E. Hoxie has noted, by the mid-twentieth century, reservations that had once seemed like prisons had been transformed into places of refuge for indigenous families, their cultures, and their languages. Political, economic, and cultural ties to reservation landscapes highlighted a distinct set of paths that carried indigenous communities through the difficult years of the early twentieth century and into the era of activism and renewed political sovereignty during the late twentieth century.[10] Yet these prominent themes have obscured other, equally important survival strategies that took Native people beyond the reservation and into the cities of the American West during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The study of federal Indian boarding schools has not been immune from notions of indigenous authenticity. For the most part, the idea that Native students and their communities might have integrated a federal Indian boarding school and its outing system within patterns of migration and wage labor remains unthinkable.[11] To be sure, scholars have done much to unearth indigenous agency at the schools, demonstrating how Native students managed to hold onto their cultures and build new, intertribal friendships in spite of the tedious, dangerous, and brutally ethnocentric day-to-day routines of the schools.[12] Outing narratives suggest that even more can be done to unearth Native agency at federal Indian boarding schools, especially where indigenous approaches to federal Indian education carried them beyond the walls of the schools themselves.

The voices of Native outing laborers in Southern California carry beyond the literatures on indigenous education and labor and echo toward the broader study of Native America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Until recently, scholars examined the experiences of indigenous peoples almost exclusively through the somewhat restrictive lens of government policy. For historians especially, the edicts of politicians and bureaucrats have shaped how and where to look at indigenous peoples and their histories. As a result, the way we think about Native peoples of the Reservation Era often functions along the lines of the policies that the federal government built in order to solve the so-called Indian problem. Indians, then, lived exclusively on reservations. Many went to off-reservation boarding schools, where they remained trapped within the walls of the institutions that sought to change them forever. When their boarding school days came to a close, the story goes, they returned to their reservations to live out their lives in isolation and poverty. Colonial structures have been the subjects of too many histories, then, and Native people only objects.

As a result of policy-oriented approaches, most studies of Native peoples during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have portrayed them as isolated from the changes associated with modernity.[13] The ideas and practices of government officials and Native communities that have obscured indigenous migration and wage labor have kept the words *Indian* and *modern* from being considered in tandem. Government officials treated residents of reservations as culturally backward people who had yet to embrace the acquisitive, market-based behaviors associated with "civilized" living. In the eyes of Indian agents and boarding school superintendents, those who farmed, ran stores, or lived on allotments had moved past their indigenous identity and become more like white Protestants. Within Native communities, the production of curios and the protection of reservation lands and resources sometimes served to widen the divide between indigeneity and modernity. Over time, then, the very notion of Indianness became deeply tied to the antimodern.

By highlighting the agency of Native people as they navigated the complex and ever-changing labor policies of the Office of Indian Affairs, stories from the outing centers of Southern California push back against the false divide between indigenous peoples and modernity. Men and women who braved the outing system bore little resemblance to popular images of indigenous people at boarding schools and on reservations, subject to total control by federal officials, stuck in time and space. On the contrary, Native people who engaged outing systems in Southern California often traveled hundreds and sometimes thousands of miles to find wage labor. They came into contact with new languages and worldviews as they formed relationships with working people from across the globe in the neighborhoods of Los Angeles and on the factory-style farms that dotted the city's periphery. By obtaining jobs, housing, and other forms of support from outing centers at Sherman Institute and in Los Angeles, Native people demonstrated nuanced understandings of programs operated by the Office of Indian Affairs. This was no small feat, as the Indian Office was one of the largest and most complex bureaucracies in the United States—and in the world—during the early twentieth century. As they participated in outing, many Native people worked to maintain connections with their home reservations, their people, and their cultures. Others formed tribal and intertribal communities in the city. In the outing systems of Southern California, mobility, wage labor, and bureaucracy became integral parts of stories that proved to be both modern and indigenous.

In the end, voices from the outing system in Southern California speak to the question raised as I conversed with a relative of a student from Sherman

Institute in the National Archives: Can we recover the actions and perspectives—*the agency*—of indigenous people who managed to draw benefits from their interactions with the Office of Indian Affairs without obscuring the damage done? The answer, I hope, is yes. Either way, the stakes are high. It would be easy to keep those indigenous people who braved the outing system—and all Native people of their era, for that matter—within the familiar tropes of cultural stasis and abject victimhood. But narratives from Sherman Institute and the Los Angeles Outing Center suggest that the story is much more complex. In Southern California and beyond, Native people crafted nuanced and subtle approaches to the federal government. Sometimes their economic strategies took them into the very heart of a bureaucracy that existed to annihilate their identities. During those journeys, they combined indigenous perspectives and cultures with deep knowledge of federal bureaucracy and wage labor in order to survive the hard years of the Reservation Era. These narratives provide a clearer picture of how Native peoples faced down a massive, state-sponsored effort at cultural erasure and carried their cultures forward through the twentieth century.

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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 For a comprehensive look at the push to assimilate indigenous peoples into the white, Protestant culture of the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Adams, *Education for Extinction*. See also Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education*. On the role of the eradication of indigenous languages within the broader push for the assimilation of Native peoples, see Spack, *America's Second Tongue*.

2 McCoy, "Mission Architecture and Sherman Institute."

3 Ibid., 50–55. As McCoy notes, the romanticized view of California's missions during the early twentieth century ignored the "forced confinement, hard labor, sexual abuse, or harsh punishments that constituted the reality of life at the missions" (54).

4 See Medina, "Selling Indians at Sherman Institute."

5 McCoy, "Mission Architecture and Sherman Institute," 42; Inspection Report of J. L. Perry, February 4, 1927, Box 3, Folder: 22599–1927, Central Classified Files, Records of Sherman Institute, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC).

6 In a report on Sherman Institute to the Office of Indian Affairs, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. B. Merritt bragged that the use of student labor had allowed for "remarkably efficient construction work . . . at about one-third the cost of the open market." E. B. Merritt to Sherman Institute Superintendent Frank Conser, January 8, 1927, Personnel File for Frank Conser, National Personnel Records Center, St. Louis, MO (hereafter NPRC). Malcolm McDowell, an inspector from the Board of Indian Commissioners, estimated that the use of student labor in constructing school buildings saved the government $78,000 between 1910 and 1923. Malcolm McDowell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, October 4, 1923, Box 19, Folder: 92503–1923, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

7 Sakiestewa Gilbert, *Education beyond the Mesas*, xxi.

8 Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 52.

9 McCoy, "Mission Architecture and Sherman Institute," 60.

10 Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 239–44; Trafzer and Dixon, "The Place of American Indian Boarding Schools in Contemporary Society," 237.

11 Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 15–23; Vuckovic, *Voices from Haskell*, 123.

12 Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*, 129–67; Adams, "Beyond Bleakness"; Ellis, "We Had a Lot of Fun." On runaways, see Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 87–95.

13 See especially Child, *Boarding School Seasons*; Adams, *Education for Extinction*; Coleman, *American Indian Children at School*; Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education*.

14 Keller, *Empty Beds*; Loupe, "Unhappy and Unhealthy."

15 Sakiestewa Gilbert, *Education beyond the Mesas*; Bauer, "Family Matters"; Thomas, "Bringing Them Home."

16 Trafzer et al., *The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue*; Bahr, *The Students of Sherman Indian School*.

17 Adams, *Education for Extinction,* 149–63; Coleman, *American Indian Children at School,* 112–15; Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 70–71; Jacobs, "Diverted Mothering and American Indian Domestic Servants," 181; Fortunate Eagle, *Pipestone*, 57–82.
18 Quoted in Coleman, *American Indian Children at School*, 113.
19 Littlefield and Knack, "Native American Labor," 3.
20 Hosmer, *American Indians in the Marketplace*, xii. For a study that focuses on cultural degeneration resulting from capitalist market engagement among indigenous groups, see White, *The Roots of Dependency.*
21 O'Neill, *Working the Navajo Way*, 4; Bauer, *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here*, xii.
22 Here I draw from Colleen O'Neill's discussion and definition of modernity with relation to Native peoples ("Rethinking Modernity and the Discourse of Development," 2–3). I also draw on Daniel Usner's discussion of the false dichotomy between "authenticity and annihilation" when considering relationships between Native peoples and wage labor (*Indian Work*, 145). See also O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, xxi–xxiii.
23 O'Neill, "Rethinking Modernity and the Discourse of Development," 3–4.
24 Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*; Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America." On workers and consumerism during the twentieth century, see Cohen, *Making a New Deal*; Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic*.
25 Weber, *Dark Sweat, White Gold*; Peck, *Reinventing Free Labor*; Mapes, *Sweet Tyranny.* For a look at how indigenous labor histories fit within the broader labor historiography, see O'Neill, "Rethinking Modernity and the Discourse of Development," 15-20.
26 Historian Joan Sangster argues that historians of indigenous labor, especially in the United States, have privileged Native agency in navigating wage labor marketplaces at the cost of obscuring damages done by capitalism ("Aboriginal Women and Work across the 49th Parallel," 38).
27 Hosmer, "Dollar a Day and Glad to Have It," 286; Albers, "Marxism and Historical Materialism in American Indian History"; Fowler, *Tribal Sovereignty and the Historical Imagination*.
28 Cohen, *Braceros*.
29 "Report of Outing Pupils Sent Out in the Fiscal Year of 1910," Box 1617, Folder: 74515–16, CCF, General Services (hereafter GS), BIA, RG 75 NADC; Haskins, *Matrons and Maids*, 20–34.
30 On Dagenett and the Indian Employment Bureau, see Littlefield, "Learning to Labor"; Holm, *The Great Confusion in Indian Affairs*, 174. For a look at the placement office in Chicago, see Beck and La Pier, "A 'one-man relocation team.'"
31 Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*; Carpio, *Indigenous Albuquerque*; Ramirez, *Native Hubs*.
32 On federal relocation programs, see Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*; LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*; Fixico, *Termination and Relocation*; Weibel-Orlando, *Indian Country, L.A.*; Blackhawk, "I Can Carry On from Here."
33 On Native modernity before World War II, see Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*; Harmon, *Rich Indians*; Thrush, *Native Seattle*; Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country.*
34 Where I use pseudonyms, the first letters of first name and surname correspond to the name of the student. I provide the initials of the student, as well as the box and folder numbers for their student case files.
35 Vaught, *Cultivating California*, 53–88; Stoll, *The Fruits of Natural Advantage*, 124–26.
36 McWilliams, *Factories in the Field*, 66–78. On the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, see Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door,* 12–26.
37 Vaught, *Cultivating California,* 100–130; McWilliams, *Factories in the Field*, 104–20.

38 McWilliams, *Factories in the Field*, 120–27.
39 For a concise look at the Immigration Act of 1924, see Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door*, 27–58.
40 Weber, *Dark Sweat, White Gold*; McWilliams, *Factories in the Field*, 124–50, quote on 125.
41 Molina, *Fit to Be Citizens?*, 4; Wild, *Street Meeting*, 38–61.
42 For an extended discussion of the Indian Citizenship Act, see Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 211–38.
43 Trafzer et al., *Boarding School Blues*, 7.
44 Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California*, 24–26.
45 See Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies*.
46 Ibid., 4–7. In a precursor to the outing system, Indian schools began sending young women to work in white, Protestant homes as early as 1761, when officials at the Moor's Indian Charity School in Lebanon, New Hampshire, paid local white women to host Native students and teach them domestic arts within their homes. See Simonsen, *Making Home Work*, Kindle edition, location 1111/3619.
47 Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 15.
48 Ibid., 16–17.
49 Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 50.
50 Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 20–38; Trafzer et al., *The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue*, 4.
51 For a concise summary of preremoval federal Indian policy in the United States, see Horsman, "The Indian Policy of an 'Empire for Liberty.'"
52 Ibid., 45; Sheehan, *Seeds of Extinction*, 25.
53 Quoted in Horsman, "The Indian Policy of an 'Empire for Liberty,'" 49.
54 Sheehan, *Seeds of Extinction*, 36.
55 Trafzer et al., *Boarding School Blues*, 10. See also Prucha, *The Great Father*, 48–63. For a look at efforts to "civilize" and educate one tribe during the early nineteenth century, see McLaughlin, *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic*.
56 Trafzer et al., *Boarding School Blues*, 10–13.
57 Ibid.
58 On Pratt's assimilationist philosophy, see his *Battlefield and Classroom*. See also Eastman, *Pratt*, 223; Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 36–51.
59 Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 118–30.
60 Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton Institute*, 36–37. For a good overview of the outing system and its origins, see Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 156–61. See also Trennert, "From Carlisle to Phoenix."
61 On the founding of Carlisle Industrial School, see Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 54–57. Quotes in Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 156–63.
62 Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 72–80.
63 Ibid.
64 For a poignant account of the dispossession that played out under the terms of the Dawes Act, see Meyer, *The White Earth Tragedy*.
65 Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 18–57, 193–259; Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 145–55. For a look at how increasingly negative assessments of the intellectual capabilities of indigenous peoples filtered into curricula and classrooms of federal Indian boarding schools, see Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*, 65–77.
66 Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 83–146.
67 Quoted in Adams, *Education for Extinction,* 154. For a thorough look at Estelle Reel, see Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel," 7–9.

68 Quoted in Jacobs, "Working on the Domestic Frontier," 171.

69 On the diminishing expectations for Native people after the turn of the twentieth century, see Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 42–120; Holm, *The Great Confusion in Indian Affairs*, 1–50. For a more specific look at how these changes affected labor programs and curricula at boarding schools, see Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 70.

CHAPTER 1. LABORED LEARNING

1 Harwood Hall to Frank Miller, January 30, 1901, Outing System Letters (hereafter OSL), 1900–1902, Sherman Institute Collection, Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, CA (hereafter SIC). On Miller's involvement in bringing Sherman Institute to Riverside, see Gonzalez, "Riverside, Tourism, and the Indian"; Keller, *Empty Beds*, xv, 16–17.

2 Personal Statement of Employee, January 16, 1922, Personnel File for Harwood Hall, NPRC; Record of Employment, Personnel File for Harwood Hall, NPRC. On Hall's relationships with Albert K. Smiley and Collis P. Huntington, see Frank Miller to Secretary of the Interior Ray L. Wilbur, June 9, 1931, Personnel File for Frank Conser, NPRC.

3 Harwood Hall to Frank Miller, January 30, 1901, OSL, 1901–1902, SIC. Miller continued to use his wealth and influence in support of Harwood Hall long after the two secured funding for the new boarding school at Riverside, often by writing to legislators in support of promotions for Hall. Frank Miller to Senator John D. Works, May 6, 1912, Personnel File for Harwood Hall, NPRC.

4 Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*.

5 Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 162; Haskins, *Matrons and Maids*, 19; Trennert, "From Carlisle to Phoenix," 276–80.

6 Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School*, 28–41.

7 Trennert, "From Carlisle to Phoenix," 280.

8 Ibid., 281.

9 Haskins, *Matrons and Maids*, 23–27.

10 Office of Indian Affairs Chief Clerk C. F. Hauke to Cushman Indian School Superintendent H. H. Johnson, May 3, 1910, Box 1617, Folder: 31975–10, CCF, GS, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 156–81; Haskins, *Matrons and Maids*, 34.

11 Harwood Hall to Frank Miller, January 30, 1901, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC.

12 Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 157; Harwood Hall to Mrs. Thomas Bakewell, July 22, 1900, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC.

13 Timecards for student laborers included deductions for meals. See Fred Long to Chief Clerk H. E. Mitchell, November 1, 1928, Box 110, Records of Outing Agent Fred Long, Folder: Unmarked, RSI, BIA, RG 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Pacific Region, Riverside, CA (hereafter NAR); Meal Ticket Receipts for Ross Townsend, Box 110, Records of Outing Agent Fred Long, Folder: Unmarked, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Annual Report of Superintendent Harwood Hall, August 26, 1907, Box 1, Folder: 73283, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

14 On wages for domestic workers, see Katzman, *Seven Days a Week*, 305–6; Harwood Hall to J. H. Reed, February 25, 1901, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC; Annual Report of Superintendent Harwood Hall, August 26, 1907, Box 1, Folder: 73283, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

15 All conversions of historical dollar figures to contemporary equivalents are performed using the Consumer Price Index converter at *Measuring Worth*, http://www.

measuringworth.com. Consumer Price Index is calculated by comparing the price of a typical bundle of goods purchased by a consumer with the price of the same bundle for a base period.

16 Harwood Hall to Colonel J. F. Ritchey, February 6, 1902, OSL, 1901–2, SIC.

17 Harwood Hall to S. S. Hotchkiss, June 16, 1902, OSL, 1901–2, SIC; Harwood Hall to W. P. Gulick, February 15, 1900, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC.

18 Harwood Hall to S. R. Smith, February 10, 1900, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC.

19 Harwood Hall to George S. Winterbothem, April 16, 1901, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC.

20 These kinds of living conditions proved common among growers across California from the turn of the twentieth century through the Great Depression. For a detailed look at housing conditions faced by agricultural workers in California, see Mitchell, *The Lie of the Land*, 36–56.

21 Harwood Hall to S. R. Smith, February 28, 1900, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC.

22 Frank Conser, who became superintendent of Sherman Institute in 1909, kept timecards for every student laborer in the outing program. Letters are the only surviving outing system records from Hall's tenure.

23 On student labor related to the upkeep and operation of boarding schools, see Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 149–56; Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*, 65–79; Coleman, *American Indian Children at School*, 105–14; Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 69–81.

24 Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School*, 54.

25 Harwood Hall to Mrs. Harold Lacy, February 12, 1900, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC; Harwood Hall to S.R. Smith, February 10, 1900, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC.

26 Harwood Hall to Mrs. Francis Ellis, January 22, 1902, OSL, 1901–2, SIC. On Victorian gender ideologies within the outing system, see Paxton, "Learning Gender," 181–84. For a look at connections between gender, colonialism, and outing labor, see Haskins, *Matrons and Maids*, 7–17. See also Trennert, "Victorian Morality and the Supervision of Indian Women Working in Phoenix."

27 Harwood Hall to Mrs. A. Sharpe, June 21, 1902, OSL, 1901–2, SIC.

28 Keller, *Empty Beds*, 1–40. Hall encouraged students to write home, welcomed the families of students to visit Sherman, and regularly allowed students to visit home during the summer months. For another take on Hall, see Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School*, 41–56.

29 Harwood Hall to S. R. Smith, February 10, 1900, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC.

30 In "Learning to Labor" Alice Littlefield argues that federal Indian boarding schools proletarianized students. See also Littlefield, "Indian Education and the World of Work in Michigan." As historian K. Tsianina Lomawaima notes, curricula at federal Indian boarding schools and vocational institutions for black and white students closely resembled one another (*They Called It Prairie Light*, 65–67). On curricula at vocational schools designed for black students in the American South, see Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*. For vocational curricula at public schools, see Tyack, *The One Best System*. Lomawaima, Anderson, and Tyack all argue that vocational institutions sought to create and maintain laboring underclasses. For connections between vocational programs for black and Indian students, see Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton Institute*.

31 Employee Record for Frank Conser, Personnel File for Frank Conser, NPRC; Note on promotion of Harwood Hall, March 4, 1909, Personnel File for Harwood Hall, NPRC.

32 In 1914, 279 boys and 125 girls participated in the outing system. In 1924, 272 boys and 264 girls participated. Otis B. Goodall, Report on Inspection of Sherman Institute, August 5, 1914, Box 2, Folder: 00–1914, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Frank Conser to Supervisor of Indian Education E. H. Hammond, February 13, 1924, Letters Sent and Received (hereafter LSR), 1924, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

33 Malcolm McDowell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, October 4, 1923, Box 19, Folder: 92503–1923, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

34 Jewett joined the Indian Service as a seamstress at the Navajo Agency in Fort Defiance, Arizona, in 1903, and she made stops at the Fort Defiance and Pima agencies in Arizona before arriving at Sherman. Efficiency Reports for Frank Conser, Personnel File for Frank Conser, NPRC; Employee Record for Orrington Jewett, Personnel File for Orrington Jewett, NPRC; Record of Employee in Indian Service, Personnel File for Orrington Jewett, NPRC.

35 Frank Conser to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Robert Valentine, January 24, 1910, Box 26, Folder: 8361–1910, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

36 Report of the Outing Matron from Sherman Institute, Box 126, Daily Bulletins, Folder: Disciplinarian's Office, 1929, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Inspector W. S. Coleman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, April 9, 1919, Box 18, Folder: 36092–1919, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

37 Orrington Jewett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, August 12, 1918, Personnel File for Orrington Jewett, NPRC.

38 Inspector W. S. Coleman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, April 9, 1919, Box 18, Folder: 36092–1919, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

39 Orrington Jewett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, April 30, 1921, Personnel File for Orrington Jewett, NPRC; Employee Record for Etta Long, Personnel File for Etta Long, NPRC. After a two-year stint as a laundress, Long was promoted to outing matron when Jewett left the school in 1921. Citing the work of her husband, Conser argued that it would "make a very good combination for her to have the work of outing matron." Employment Record for Etta Long, Personnel File for Etta Long, NPRC; Sherman Institute Superintendent Frank Conser to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, April 25, 1921, Personnel File for Etta Long, NPRC; Efficiency Report, April 13, 1927, Personnel File for Etta Long, NPRC.

40 Report of the Outing Matron for the Month Ending September 30, 1928, Box 1, Folder: 00–1928, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Report of Outing Matron for Month Ending May 31, 1932, Box 38, Folder: Outing System, 1932–33, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Report of Outing Matron for Month Ending June 30, 1932, Box 38, Folder: Outing System, 1932–33, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

41 Sherman Institute Superintendent Donald Biery to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Rhoads, January 21, 1933, Personnel File for Etta Long, NPRC; Reports of Outing Matron, Box 38, Folder: Outing System, 1932–33, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Report of Outing Matron for Month Ending June 30, 1932, Box 38, Folder: Outing System, 1932–33, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

42 Report of Outing Matron for Month Ending January 28, 1933, Box 38, Folder: Outing System, 1932–33, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

43 Report of Outing Matron for Month Ending April 30, 1929, Box 1, Folder: 00–1929, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

44 Sherman Institute Superintendent Donald Biery to Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier, May 5, 1939, Personnel File for Etta Long, NPRC.

45 Employee Record for Fred Long, July 1, 1912, Personnel File for Fred Long, NPRC; Sherman Institute Superintendent Frank Conser to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, April 10, 1922, Personnel File for Fred Long, NPRC. Records from Sherman Institute and federal personnel files list Long as an "Indian" but do not reveal his tribal identity. While Long attended an Indian boarding school, he identified as white on all official documents kept by the Office of Indian Affairs.

46 *Sherman Bulletin* 3, no. 22, June 22, 1909, SIC; *Sherman Bulletin* 3, no. 26, September 1, 1909, SIC.

47 Frank Conser to U.S. Employees' Compensation Commission, September 11, 1929, Personnel File for Fred Long, NPRC; Employee Record for Fred Long, Personnel File for Fred Long, NPRC; Records of Outing Agent Fred Long, Box 110, 1917–30, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Placement and Coordinating Report for August, 1933, Box 38, Folder: Outing System, 1932–33, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Sherman Institute Superintendent Donald Biery to Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier, June 13, 1934, Box 38, Folder: Outing System, 1932–33, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

48 Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. B. Merritt to Matilda Ewing, May 5, 1922, Personnel File for Matilda Ewing, NPRC; Record of Employment for Grace Viets, Personnel File for Grace Viets, NPRC; H. W. Palmer to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, March 24, 1923, Personnel File for Grace Viets, NPRC; Employee Record for Rilla DePorte, Personnel File for Rilla DePorte, NPRC; Employee Record for Frances Hall, Personnel File for Frances Hall, NPRC.

49 Time/Pay Worksheets for Outing Pupils, Box 115, Folder: 1915, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Report of Outing Boys of Sherman Institute, Boxes 115–23, Records of Boys Outings, 1912–18, Folder: 1915, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

50 Frank Conser to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, April 12, 1917, Folder: 8361–1910, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Cato Sells to Frank Conser, April 13, 1917, Folder: 8361–1910, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC. For an in-depth look at Native involvement with the sugar beet industry, see Littlefield, "Learning to Labor."

51 Frank Conser to E. H. Hammond, February 13, 1924, LSR, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

52 Office of Indian Affairs Circular No. 240, September 21, 1908, Box 107, Folder: Circulars, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Supervisor of Indian Education Carl Moore to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Rhoads, March 10, 1930, Box 19, Folder: 24570–1930, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

53 Frank Conser to E. H. Hammond, February 13, 1924, LSR, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

54 Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, xv.

55 Ellis, "We Had a Lot of Fun," 66–67; Ahern, "An Experiment Aborted"; Riney, *The Rapid City Indian School*, 167–92; Ruggles-Gere, "Indian Heart/White Man's Head"; Adams, "Beyond Bleakness," 36–60.

56 Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 15–23; Vuckovic, *Voices from Haskell*, 123; Charles Davis to Fred Long, March 6, 1930, Box 110, Records of Outing Agent Fred Long, 1917–30, Folder: Untitled, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Report of the Outing Matron from Sherman Institute, 1930, Box 106, Narrative Reports, Folder: Working Papers for 1931, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

57 Harwood Hall to Mrs. Thomas Bakewell, February 25, 1901, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC.

58 Harwood Hall to Mrs. L. C. Waldman, February 3, 1902, OSL, 1901–2, SIC. For additional examples of these strategies within a boarding school setting, see Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 43–54.

59 Mrs. Charles Martin to Girls Outing Matron Etta Long, June 15, 1925, Box 119, Folder: Girls Outing Applications, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR. On strategies used to escape harsh or unreasonable employers among young women in the outing systems at Flandreau and Haskell, see Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 84–85.

60 Helen Phillips to Inspector W. M. Coleman, March 25, 1919, Box 3, Folder: 2143–1919, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

61 Ibid.

62 Vuckovic, *Voices from Haskell*, 124; Entry for April 11, 1929, Box 126, Daily Bulletins, Folder: Disciplinarian's Office, 1929, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

63 Report of Outing Boys of Sherman Institute, Boxes 115–23, Records of Boys Outings, 1912–18, Folders: 1914, 1915, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Frank Conser to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Robert Valentine, May 11, 1910, Box 1617, Folder: 31975–10, CCF, GS, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Frank Conser to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, June 3, 1924, Box 1618, Folder: 41519–24, CCF, GS, BIA, RG 75 NADC. While this system of payment also provided employees at Sherman Institute with ample opportunity to steal student wages, there exists very little evidence to suggest this ever occurred.

64 M. K. Thompson to Fred Long, September 30, 1928, Box 110, Records of Outing Agent Fred Long, Folder: Untitled, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; W. E. Gould to Fred Long, April 26, 1929, Personnel File for Fred Long, NPRC; W. E. Gould to Fred Long, July 30, 1929, Personnel File for Fred Long, NPRC; Etta Long to Frank Conser, November 29, 1929, Box 110, Records of Outing Agent Fred Long, Folder: Untitled, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Fred Long to Herman Lomahoema, May 18, 1930, Box 110, Records of Outing Agent Fred Long, Folder: Untitled, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

65 Robert Chaleco to Fred Long, April 26, 1930, Box 110, Records of Outing Agent Fred Long, Folder: Untitled, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Herman Lomahoema to Fred Long, May 13, 1930, Box 110, Records of Outing Agent Fred Long, Folder: Untitled, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Damian Pachito to Fred Long, June 24, 1930, Box 110, Records of Outing Agent Fred Long, Folder: Untitled, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

66 Jefferson Miguel to Fred Long, June 5, 1930, Box 110, Records of Outing Agent Fred Long, Folder: Untitled, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Allen Chee to Fred Long, June 3, 1930, Box 110, Records of Outing Agent Fred Long, Folder: Untitled, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Herman Lomahoema to Fred Long, June 30, 1930, Box 110, Records of Outing Agent Fred Long, Folder: Untitled, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

67 Application for Enrollment in a Nonreservation School, September 4, 1922, Student Case File (hereafter SCF) for Damian Pachito, Box 276, CCF (hereafter CCF), RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Certificate of Physician, September 4, 1922, SCF Damian Pachito, Box 276, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Vocational and Industrial Record Cards, 1924–29, SCF Damian Pachito, Box 276, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

68 Application for Enrollment in a Nonreservation School, n.d., SCF Robert Chaleco, Box 60, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Records of Pupil in School, 1927–29, SCF Robert Chaleco, Box 60, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Ft. Yuma Indian School Superintendent Herbert Jolley to Frank Conser, June 8, 1926, SCF Robert Chaleco, Box 60, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Frank Conser to Herbert Jolley, December 22, 1927, SCF Robert Chaleco, Box 60, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

69 Application for Enrollment in a Nonreservation School, n.d., SCF Herman Lomahoema, Box 212, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Sherman Institute Hospital Individual Patient Record, SCF Herman Lomahoema, Box 212, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR. For information on trachoma in indigenous communities and at boarding schools, see Keller, *Empty Beds*, 86–88.

70 Industrial Records and Vocational Record Cards, 1924–29, SCF Herman Lomahoema, Box 212, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Loose note, n.d., SCF Herman Lomahoema, Box 212, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR. Note reads, "Herman wants to continue in school. He does not want to go home for vacation."

71 Record of Pupil in Sherman Institute, SCF Hugh Bell, Box 31, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Timecards for Hugh Bell, Records of Boys Outings, 1912–18, and Time/Pay Worksheets for

Outing Pupils, 1917–29, Boxes 115–23, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Frank Conser to John Hunter, February 11, 1930, SCF Hugh Bell, Box 31, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR. Robert Trennert noted that students at Phoenix Indian School earned significant sums of money (*The Phoenix Indian School*, 136).

72 Harwood Hall to S. R. Smith, February 28, 1900, OSL, 1900–1901, SIC.

73 Timecards for Hugh Bell, Records of Boys Outings, 1912–18, and Time/Pay Worksheets for Outing Pupils, 1917–29, Boxes 115–23, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

74 Application for Enrollment in a Nonreservation School, n.d., SCF Joe Blackwater, Box 38, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Record of Pupil in School, September 25, 1910, SCF Joe Blackwater, Box 38, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR. By the end of his second year at Sherman Institute, Blackwater had gained nearly twenty pounds. Blackwater reported during his first year at Sherman Institute, "I did not go to school very much on account of my eyes." Personal Statement of Joe Blackwater, SCF Joe Blackwater, Box 38, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

75 Record of Pupil in School, 1913–19, SCF Joe Blackwater, Box 38, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Joe Blackwater to Sherman Institute Superintendent Frank Conser, September 1, 1913, SCF Joe Blackwater, Box 38, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR. Blackwater's father often pushed for him to come home and help out with agricultural work on the family's allotment.

76 Timecards for Joe Blackwater, Records of Boys Outings, 1912–18, and Time/Pay Worksheets for Outing Pupils, 1917–29, Boxes 115–23, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Sherman Institute Superintendent Frank Conser to William Light, December 12, 1922, SCF Joe Blackwater, Box 38, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Employee Ledger, SIC.

77 Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 104–35; Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*, 18, 72; Ahern, "An Experiment Aborted," 282–83. Ahern notes that in 1898, Native Americans composed 45 percent of staff at schools administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Although that percentage dropped steadily throughout the first half of the twentieth century, Indian employees nonetheless maintained a strong presence.

78 Sacramento Agency Superintendent Roy Nash to Sherman Institute Superintendent Donald Biery, April 13, 1939, SCF Ross Townsend, Box 364, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Galen Townsend, personal interview with the author, January 13, 2011; Certificates of Promotion and Vocational Record Cards, SCF Ross Townsend, Box 364, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Transcript of High School Record, SCF Ross Townsend, Box 364, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

79 Fred Long to H. E. Mitchell, July 18, 1928, Box 110, Records of Outing Agent Fred Long, 1917–30, Folder: Untitled, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Ross Townsend to Sherman Institute Assistant Superintendent A. P. Westhafer, August 11, 1930, SCF Ross Townsend, Box 364, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Sherman Institute Assistant Superintendent A. P. Westhafer to Ross Townsend, August 14, 1930, SCF Ross Townsend, Box 364, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

80 *Sherman Bulletin* 36, no. 3, November 19, 1943, SIC; Townsend interview.

81 Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 104–15.

82 Employee Register, 1931, SIC; Townsend interview.

83 Townsend interview.

CHAPTER 2. INDIAN SCHOOL, COMPANY TOWN

1 Davis, *City of Quartz*, 380.

2 Discussion of labor camps at Fontana Farms comes from records of inspections by the California Commission of Immigration and Housing, as well as timecards for student

laborers kept by Sherman Institute. For inspections, see Carton 65, Folder: Labor Camps, Operators, Fontana Farms Company, 1923–33, Records of the California Division of Industrial Relations, Division of Immigration and Housing, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (hereafter CDIR, DIH, BL, UCB). For timecards of students who worked at Fontana Farms, see Records of Boys Outings, 1912–18, and Time/Pay Worksheets for Outing Pupils, 1917–29, Boxes 115–23, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

3 "Giant Farm near Los Angeles," *Santa Fe Magazine* 17, no. 8 (1923): 48–49.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid; Davis, *City of Quartz*, 380–81.

6 Davis, *City of Quartz*, 380–81; "Fontana Census Reported," *Los Angeles Times*, January 29, 1928.

7 For example, see Murphy, *Mining Cultures*; Mercier, *Anaconda*. For examples of place-based studies that focus on the citrus industry, see Alamillo, *Making Lemonade out of Lemons*; Garcia, *A World of Its Own*, esp. 47–120.

8 Garcia, *A World of Its Own*, 36–45. For a description of the smudging process, see Alamillo, *Making Lemonade Out of Lemons*, 40–41.

9 "Giant Farm Near Los Angeles," 48–49.

10 Tsu, "'Independent of the Unskilled Chinaman,'" 478–82.

11 Alamillo, *Making Lemonade out of Lemons*, 28. For a detailed look at the founding of the CCIH, see Mitchell, *The Lie of the Land*, 36–56.

12 On racial formations in California, see Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines*. While ethnic diversity in the Fontana Farms' camps went beyond Mexicans and Native Americans from Sherman Institute, it is impossible to be certain of where workers came from given the sources at hand. Therefore my use of "Mexican" mirrors the ethnic label given by inspectors from the California Commission of Immigration and Housing.

13 Peter Shelton to Frank Conser, June 29, 1923, SCF Peter Shelton, Box 329, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Peter Shelton to Conser, July 16, 1923, SCF Peter Shelton, Box 329, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

14 See Carton 65, Folder: Labor Camps, Operators, Fontana Farms Company, 1923–33, CDIR, DIH, BL, UCB.

15 In addition to the money A. B. Miller made by disposing of the trash of the city of Los Angeles, which he fed to his chickens and his pigs, trash from employee quarters also served as chicken feed; it went into open pits near workers' quarters, where chickens ate their fill. See Davis, *City of Quartz*, 378–83.

16 See Carton 65, Folder: Labor Camps, Operators, Fontana Farms Company, 1923–33, CDIR, DIH, BL, UCB.

17 Alamillo, *Making Lemonade Out of Lemons*, 39–44; Garcia, *A World of Its Own*, 42–44.

18 Mitchell, *The Lie of the Land*, 139–58; McWilliams, *Factories in the Field*, 187–95; Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, 100–106; Weber, *Dark Sweat, White Gold*, 64–74.

19 Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 83–145.

20 Historian Eric V. Meeks has noted a similar trend within labor programs operated by the Office of Indian Affairs in Phoenix and Tucson, Arizona (*Border Citizens*, 44–53).

21 In 1923, students arose at 5:30 a.m., worked at vocational tasks related to the upkeep of the school between 7:20 and noon, and attended classes until 5 p.m. After dinner they attended required "gymnasium work" and church services. Malcolm McDowell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, October 4, 1923, Box 19, Folder: 92503–1923, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

22 Health information is taken from an unscientific sampling of student files from among those who worked at Fontana Farms, SCF, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

23 Pseudonym used because of illness. Timecards for B.S., Records of Boys Outings, 1912–18, and Time/Pay Worksheets for Outing Pupils, 1917–29, Boxes 115–23, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

24 Leupp Agency Superintendent W. O. Roberts to Frank Conser, June 5, 1926, SCF B.S., Box 341, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Frank Conser to Mrs. Copeland, n.d., SCF B.S., Box 341, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

25 Sherman Institute school physician W. W. Roblee to Frank Conser, June 11, 1926, SCF B.S., Box 341, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Frank Conser to W. O. Roberts, June 16, 1926, SCF B.S., Box 341, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

26 Pseudonym used because of illness. Timecards for G.L., Records of Boys Outings, 1912–18, and Time/Pay Worksheets for Outing Pupils, 1917–29, Boxes 115–23, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; W. W. Roblee to Sherman Institute Superintendent Frank Conser, May 16, 1929, SCF G.L., Box 197, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

27 G.L. to Frank Conser, August 4, 1929, SCF G.L., Box 197, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Employment Survey, February 21, 1930, SCF G.L., Box 197, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

28 Pseudonym used because of illness. Frank Conser to Northern Navajo Agency Superintendent B. P. Six, September 4, 1930, SCF H.B., Box 40, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

29 Timecards for H.B., Records of Boys Outings, 1912–18, and Time/Pay Worksheets for Outing Pupils, 1917–29, Boxes 115–23, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

30 Weekly Hospital Reports, SCF H.B., Box 40, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

31 Talayesva, *Sun Chief*, 118.

32 Despite encountering remarkably diverse workforces in factories and on farms across California, labor inspection forms from the Commission on Immigration and Housing contained blanks for native-born Americans, Greeks, Italians, Mexicans, Japanese, Germans, Chinese, Finns, "Hindus," Portuguese, Spanish, Scandinavians, and "Slavonians." While Asian and Native people worked at Fontana, inspectors from the CCIH never acknowledged their presence. Report no. 1085, September 9, 1923, Carton 65, Folder: Labor Camps, Operators, Fontana Farms Company, 1923–33, CDIR, DIH, BL, UCB. Geographer Don Mitchell has noted that CCIH inspectors focused almost exclusively on white and Mexican workers and that there exist no records for inspections of camps marked as "oriental" (*The Lie of the Land*, 99).

33 Tables Showing Various Nationalities Employed in Labor Camps, 1923–30, Carton 55, Folder: 42, Labor Camps, 1923, CDIR, DIH, BL, UCB; Davis, *City of Quartz*, 380–82.

34 Carton 65, Folder: Labor Camps, Operators, Fontana Farms Company, 1923–33, CDIR, DIH, BL, UCB; Davis, *City of Quartz*, 381. For the best account of the changing ethnic makeup of agricultural labor in California, see McWilliams, *Factories in the Field*. See also Vaught, *Cultivating California*, 120–57. On ethnic composition of workers in the Inland Empire, see Garcia, *A World of Its Own*, 35–78.

35 Herzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity*, 1–31.

36 Peck, *Reinventing Free Labor*.

37 My thinking on this point owes much to historian Andrew Fisher. In his study of indigenous peoples of the Columbia River Plateau, Fisher argued that Indians who moved beyond the boundaries of the reservation during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries tended to "fade from the view" of bureaucrats and the historians who now use their records (*Shadow Tribe*, 9).

38 Clifford, *Routes*, 17–46.

39 Hosmer, *American Indians in the Marketplace*, 107.

40 Talayesva, *Sun Chief*, 118.

41 Ibid., 130–41.

42 See especially Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*, 65–79; Trennert, "From Carlisle to Phoenix," 285–93. See also Littlefield, "Indian Education and the World of Work in Michigan."

43 For "land of oranges" reference, see Sakiestewa Gilbert, *Education beyond the Mesas*, 3.

44 Talayesva, *Sun Chief*, 114–34. Timecards kept by outing officials reveal which students from Sherman Institute worked at Fontana Farms, for how long, and how much they earned. See Records of Boys Outings, 1912–18, and Time/Pay Worksheets for Outing Pupils, 1917–29, Boxes 115–23, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

45 Record of Pupil in School, SCF Wilbert Douglaclesh, Box 99, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

46 Outing Timecards for Wilbert Douglaclesh, Records of Boys Outings, 1912–18, and Time/Pay Worksheets for Outing Pupils, 1917–29, Boxes 115–23, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

47 Ibid.; SCF Wilbert Douglaclesh, Box 99, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

48 Outing Timecards for Wilbert Douglaclesh, Records of Boys Outings, 1912–18, and Time/Pay Worksheets for Outing Pupils, 1917–29, Boxes 115–23, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR. On per-annum funding, see Office of Indian Affairs Circular no. 240, September 8, 1908, Narrative Reports, Box 106, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

49 Wilbert Douglaclesh to Frank Conser, July 15, 1927, SCF Wilbert Douglaclesh, Box 99, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

50 Klara B. Kelley and Peter M. Whiteley argue that Navajo or Navajo-Apache people likely began raiding Spanish and Puebloan settlements for livestock during the early seventeenth century. Spanish officials began recording accounts of livestock among the Navajo in the early 1700s (*Navajoland*, 13–20).

51 Iverson, *Dine*, 76; O'Neill, *Working the Navajo Way*, 25.

52 O'Neill, *Working the Navajo Way*, 7–13.

53 The numbers from 1923, 1929, 1931, and 1932 likely provide a strong indicator of the makeup of the Sherman student body throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, as the Office of Indian Affairs did not order Sherman to change the areas from which it recruited its students between 1923 and 1932. Sherman recruited students from California, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and New Mexico until 1935, when the Office of Indian Affairs expanded its area of recruitment to include California, Nevada, Utah, southern Idaho, and Arizona groups residing along the Colorado River. See Office of Indian Affairs Circular no. 3081, June 28, 1935, Box 104, General Correspondence, 1933–48, Folder: "S" (2/3), RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

54 Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 142. For original quote, see Edward Kennard, "Post-War Economic Changes among the Hopi," 26. Similarly, anthropologist Alfonso Ortiz argued that during the early twentieth century, one family member could enter into wage labor markets and earn enough cash to provide a Pueblo family with staples such as sugar, coffee, cheese, and soap for an entire year. See Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 116. Ortiz wrote specifically about the San Juan Pueblo, which fell under the jurisdiction of the Northern Pueblo Agency. In 1926, the average individual at the Northern Pueblo Agency earned thirty-one dollars per year—well within the range of average individual earnings for the different agencies on the Navajo Reservation but significantly less than average on the Hopi Reservation. See Institute for Government Research, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 252–53.

55 Kelley and Whiteley, *Navajoland*, 65–81. It should also be noted that Navajo people of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries could be accomplished farmers when they had access to reservation lands better suited to farming than stock raising. See Iverson, *Dine*, 78. Moreover, in the years before World War II significant numbers of Navajo people operated small coal mines or found wage work on railroads, and a few began earning cash

from silversmith work as early as 1880 (O'Neill, *Working the Navajo Way*, 31–38; Kelley and Whiteley, *Navajoland*, 78).

56 O'Neill, *Working the Navajo Way*, 16–19.

57 Ibid., 24. While O'Neill sets the benchmark for comfort at one hundred cattle, some Navajo families had far more than one hundred sheep, and some far less. Within the Southern Navajo Agency in the year 1917, for example, the wealthiest 15 percent of Navajo families owned three hundred or more sheep, while nearly 25 percent owned none at all. See Kelley and Whiteley, *Navajoland*, 77.

58 Wage labor among the Navajo increased markedly after 1933, when the Office of Indian Affairs began a two-decade-long effort to reduce livestock herds among the Navajo in order to prevent overgrazing of the land. In 1930 Navajo people owned an estimated 760,000 sheep, or twenty per capita. By 1949 that number had been reduced to 414,000, or eight per capita. See Kelley and Whiteley, *Navajoland*, 111. For an environmentally centered examination of the livestock reduction program, as well as its tragic consequences, see Weisiger, *Dreaming of Sheep in Navajo Country*.

59 Sakiestewa Gilbert, *Education beyond the Mesas,* 110–12.

60 Talayesva, *Sun Chief*, 51–52.

61 Rushforth and Upham, *A Hopi Social History*, 127; Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 45. For a concise account of the "Orayvi Split," see Sakiestewa Gilbert, *Education beyond the Mesas*, 51–70.

62 Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 94.

63 Ibid., 101, 142.

64 Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 113.

65 Institute for Government Research, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 523–25. The Office of Indian Affairs set up an Office of Indian Employment in 1909, placing Peoria Indian Charles E. Dagennett at its head, and began sending teams of Native men from across the Southwest to work in the beet fields of Kansas and Colorado shortly thereafter. This likely was one of the primary wage labor options for Hopi and Navajo men between in the 1920s and 1930s. See also Holm, *The Great Confusion in Indian Affairs*, 174. For quote on sugar beet work, see Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California*, 197.

66 Talayesva, *Sun Chief*, 109.

67 Ibid., 119.

68 Records of Boys Outings, 1912–18, and Time/Pay Worksheets for Outing Pupils, 1917–29, Boxes 115–23, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

69 Bauer, *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here*, 1–11. Eric V. Meeks has noted a similar pattern among the Tohono O'odham, who combined cotton picking and working in mines with older forms of agricultural subsistence (*Border Citizens*, 54–62).

70 It is important to note that students who visited home in the summer often did so despite opposition from school administrators who feared that time spent on the reservation would cause students to "backslide" into indigenous cultural ways. See Bauer, *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here*, 146–47.

71 Carrico and Shipek, "Indian Labor in San Diego County," 208–14.

72 Trafzer, *A Chemehuevi Song*, 157–75. See also Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*, 16–17. For a thorough look at Native wage labor in Southern California during the nineteenth century, see Phillips, *Vineyards and Vaqueros*.

73 When students who participated in the outing system took authorized trips home, the outing agent or outing matron from Sherman Institute often sent money from their school bank accounts to cover the return fare. See, for example, San Juan Indian School

Superintendent Evan W. Estep to Max Hanley, June 24, 1921, SCF Max Hanley, Box 138, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR. See also Remittances to Cover Transportation for Girls on Outing in Los Angeles, September 24, 1923, Box 26, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Records of the Fort Yuma Agency (hereafter FY), BIA, RG 75 NAR.

74 George Conklin to Frank Conser, Sept. 12, 1929, SCF George Conklin., Box 74, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

75 San Juan Indian School Superintendent Evan W. Estep to Max Hanley, June 24, 1921, SCF Max Hanley, Box 138, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR. Conser often used the high cost of transportation to argue against visits home. In 1924, for example, a student asked to go home so he could help his father harvest beans. Conser sat down with the student and worked out the cost of round-trip transportation (sixty dollars) against the cash value of his father's bean crop (five dollars). The student relented. Frank Conser to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, June 3, 1924, Box 1618, Folder: 41519–24, CCF, GS, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

76 Application for Enrollment, SCF Peter Shelton, Box 329, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Certificate of Transfer, SCF Peter Shelton, Box 329, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

77 Vocational Record Cards, 1923–26, SCF Peter Shelton, Box 329, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Record of Pupil in School, SCF Peter Shelton, Box 329, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

78 Peter Shelton to Frank Conser, June 29, 1923, SCF Peter Shelton, Box 329, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Frank Conser to Peter Shelton, July 6, 1923, SCF Peter Shelton, Box 329, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Peter Shelton to Frank Conser, July 16, 1923, SCF Peter Shelton, Box 329, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

79 Peter Shelton to Frank Conser, June 1925, SCF Peter Shelton, Box 329, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Timecards for Peter Shelton, Records of Boys Outings, 1912–18, and Time/Pay Worksheets for Outing Pupils, 1917–29, Boxes 115–23, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Los Angeles Outing Matron Frances Hall to Western Navajo Superintendent Chester L. Walker, December 27, 1926, SCF Peter Shelton, Box 329, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

80 Record of Pupil in Sherman Institute, SCF Chee Gould, Box 130, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Timecards for Chee Gould, Records of Boys Outings, 1912–18, and Time/Pay Worksheets for Outing Pupils, 1917–29, Boxes 115–23, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

81 Malcolm McDowell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, October 4, 1923, Box 19, Folder: 92503–1923, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Timecards for Chee Gould, Records of Boys Outings, 1912–18, and Time/Pay Worksheets for Outing Pupils, 1917–29, Boxes 115–23, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

82 Fred Long to Frank Conser, April 14, 1930, SCF Chee Gould, Box 130, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Bill from E. H. Preston Funeral Home, Riverside, California, April 2, 1930, SCF Chee Gould, Box 130, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

83 Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 239–44; Shoemaker, "Urban Indians and Ethnic Choices," 439–47.

84 Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, 6–14.

85 On connections between American Indian history and the historiography of European immigration, see Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*, 50.

CHAPTER 3. INTO THE CITY

1 Mrs. Stannard A. McNeil to Fort Yuma School Superintendent Loson A. Odle, September 20, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

2 Application for Enrollment in a Nonreservation School, SCF Ruth Millard, Box 245, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

3 Native women from across the American Southwest had long worked in a number of capacities in the urban wage labor markets of Southern California. See Phillips, *Vineyards and Vaqueros*; Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California*, 1–89; Carrico and Shipek, "Indian Labor in San Diego County."

4 Haskins, *Matrons and Maids*, 89; Frank Conser to W. M. Coleman, April 14, 1919, Box 3, 2143–1919, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Frank Conser to Matilda Ewing, November 16, 1918, LSR, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

5 Atkinson, *Los Angeles County Historical Directory*, 97–98.

6 Addresses are taken from correspondence in Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

7 Mrs. Stannard A. McNeil to Loson Odle, September 20, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

8 Ibid.; Katzman, *Seven Days a Week*, 53–55, 306.

9 Mrs. M. C. Brewer to Loson Odle, September 20, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

10 Matilda Ewing started the close relationship between outing matrons in Los Angeles and the staff at Sherman Institute by traveling frequently to Sherman to collaborate with the outing matron and agent there. Frank Conser to Matilda Ewing, November 16, 1918, LSR, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Frank Conser to Matilda Ewing, February 18, 1919, LSR, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Harwood Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, June 16, 1924, Box 1618, Folder: 41519–24, CCF, GS, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

11 Supervisor of Indian Schools John Holst, Report on Los Angeles Outing Center, November 14, 1928, Box 1618, Folder: 56150–28, CCF, GS, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Haskins, *Matrons and Maids*, 20–34.

12 Bee, *Crosscurrents along the Colorado*, 1–20; Forbes, *Warriors of the Colorado*, 342–43.

13 Bee, *Crosscurrents along the Colorado*, 48–70.

14 Loson Odle to Ruth Millard, Edith Acquinas, and Bertha Baker, June 27, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Bee, *Crosscurrents along the Colorado*, 73–87. On the centrality of outing within assimilation efforts at Fort Yuma, see Bee, *Crosscurrents along the Colorado*, 50–51.

15 Fort Yuma Indian School Field Matron Alice Carter to Loson Odle, June 30, 1913, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907-1926, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

16 Loson Odle to Bertha Baker, October 14, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Mrs. McCreary to Loson Odle, n.d., Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

17 Bertha Baker to Loson Odle, October 4, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Loson Odle to Bertha Baker, November 4, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–1917, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

18 Bertha Baker to Loson Odle, November 9, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Loson Odle to Bertha Baker, November 14, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Eugenia Harris to Loson Odle, May 10, 1917, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

19 Loson Odle to Bertha Baker, November 4, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Bertha Baker to Loson Odle, July

23, 1917, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

20 Mrs. Stannard A. McNeil to Loson Odle, November 17, 1917, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR. Victoria K. Haskins notes that threatening to find new employers while negotiating for higher wages was a common strategy among domestic workers of all ethnicities (*Matrons and Maids*, 94). For a broader look at wage bargaining among domestic workers, see Katzman, *Seven Days a Week*, 98.

21 Jacobs, "Working on the Domestic Frontier," 178–79.

22 Gertrude Smith to Loson Odle, October 27, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

23 Mrs. Stannard A. McNeil to Loson Odle, June 24, 1917, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Gertrude Smith to Loson Odle, February 24, 1917, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Mrs. Fred Van Dam to Orrington Jewett, June 24, 1917, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Orrington Jewett to Loson Odle, June 27, 1917, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

24 Jenny Hawthorne to Loson Odle, n.d., Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

25 Truxton Canyon Indian School Superintendent Charles Shell to Loson Odle, October 5, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Mrs. M. C. Brewer to Loson Odle, January 10, 1917, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Truxton Canyon Indian School Superintendent Charles Shell to Loson Odle, October 5, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Loson Odle to Orrington Jewett, December 1, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

26 Jacobs, "Working on the Domestic Frontier," 173–74; Haskins, *Matrons and Maids*, 23–27, 54–58. While the Office of Indian Affairs appointed Amanda Chingren as outing matron in Phoenix in 1907, she operated from the Phoenix Indian School, despite the fact that her supervisory duties covered all Native women working as domestics.

27 Jacobs, "Working on the Domestic Frontier," 172; Katzman, *Seven Days a Week*, 53–55, 306.

28 Haskins, *Matrons and Maids*, 35–54.

29 E. B. Merritt to Matilda Ewing, November 4, 1918, Box 12, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing—General, 1918–20, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Matilda Ewing, Annual Report of Los Angeles Outing and Field Matron, October 10, 1921, Personnel File for Matilda Ewing, NPRC; Copy of report sent to Civil Service Board, n.d., Box 1, Coded Correspondence Records of Supervisor Holst, 1928–29, Folder: Outing Los Angeles, Records of the Superintendent of Indian Education (hereafter RSIE), BIA, RG 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Pacific Region, San Bruno, CA (hereafter NASB).

30 Frances Hall to Sherman Institute Superintendent Donald Biery, May 17, 1934, Box 3, School Inspection Records, 1929–34, Folder: Los Angeles Supervisor's Letters, 8-5-31 and 7-15-31, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB; Frances Hall to John H. Holst, October 23, 1928, Box 1, Coded Correspondence Records of Supervisor Holst, 1928–29, Folder: Outing Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB; John H. Holst to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, November 12, 1928, Box 1, Coded Correspondence Records of Supervisor Holst, 1928–29, Folder: Outing Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB.

31 Copy of report sent to Civil Service Board, n.d., Box 1, Coded Correspondence Records of Supervisor Holst, 1928–29, Folder: Outing Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB; Frances Hall to Carl Moore, October 22, 1929, Box 3, Administrative Subject Records, 1929–32, Folder: Outing Center—Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB.

32 E. B. Merritt to Matilda Ewing, November 4, 1918, Box 12, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing—General, 1918–20, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Matilda Ewing, Annual Report of Los Angeles Outing and Field Matron, October 10, 1921, Personnel File for Matilda Ewing, NPRC. On customary days off for domestic workers in the United States, see Katzman, *Seven Days a Week*, 114.

33 Personal Statement of Employee, Personnel File for Matilda Ewing, NPRC; Record of Employee in Indian Service, Personnel File for Matilda Ewing, NPRC; Efficiency Report, Personnel File for Matilda Ewing, NPRC; Matilda Ewing to Special Disbursing Agent H. W. Palmer, June 29, 1922, Personnel File for Matilda Ewing, NPRC.

34 Copy of report sent to Civil Service Board, n.d., Box 1, Coded Correspondence Records of Supervisor Holst, 1928–29, Folder: Outing Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB; Report of Outing Matron for Month Ending February 28, 1929, Box 1, Folder: 00–1929, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Etta M. Long to Carl Moore, January 18, 1932, Box 38, Folder: Outing System, 1932–33, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Samuel H. Thompson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Rhoads, February 3, 1931, Box 3, Administrative Subject Records, 1929–32, Folder: Outing Center—Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB.

35 The outing cottage moved first in 1923 from Westlake Avenue two miles north to 134 North Benton Way, on the west side of downtown Los Angeles. The outing cottage moved again in 1926 and 1929, to a pair of houses on South Normandie Avenue, located on the southern edge of East Hollywood. Rilla DePorte to Loson Odle, September 3, 1924, Box 26, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing Pupils, 1923–35, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke to Rilla DePorte, May 26, 1923, Box 26, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing Pupils, 1920–23, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Frances Hall to Colorado River Agency Superintendent Clyde Gensler, April 8, 1926, Box 180, Central Classified Correspondence, 1924–51, Folder: Field Matron, Los Angeles, CA, Records of the Colorado River Agency (hereafter CRA), BIA, RG 75 NAR; Frances Hall to John H. Holst, October 23, 1928, Box 1, Coded Correspondence Records of Supervisor Holst, 1928–29, Folder: Outing, Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB; Frances Hall to Edna Graves, May 21, 1929, Box 1, Coded Correspondence Records of Supervisor Holst, 1928–29, Folder: Outing Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB.

36 Matilda Ewing to Special Disbursing Agent H. W. Palmer, June 29, 1922, Personnel File for Matilda Ewing, NPRC; Matilda Ewing, Annual Report of Los Angeles Outing and Field Matron, October 10, 1921, Personnel File for Matilda Ewing, NPRC. Los Angeles had surpassed San Diego to become the largest city in Southern California by 1880. The censuses of 1920 and 1930 counted .5 million and 1 million people in Los Angeles, respectively. See Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*, 18.

37 William Thackery to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, July 1, 1922, Personnel File for Matilda Ewing, NPRC; Matilda Ewing to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, July 3, 1922, Personnel File for Matilda Ewing, NPRC; Leo Crane to Matilda Ewing, September 12, 1922, Box 180, Central Classified Correspondence, 1924–51, Folder: Field Matron, Los Angeles, CA, CRA, BIA, RG 75 NAR; William Thackery to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, July 1, 1922, Personnel File for Matilda Ewing, NPRC; Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs E.B. Merritt to Matilda Ewing, May 5, 1922, Personnel

File for Matilda Ewing, NPRC; Record of Employee in Indian Service, Personnel File for Matilda Ewing, NPRC.

38 Robert Newburne to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, June 17, 1920, Personnel File for Grace Viets, NPRC; Record of Service, Personnel File for Grace Viets, NPRC; Irrigation Agent H. W. Palmer to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, March 27, 1923, Personnel File for Grace Viets, NPRC.

39 Personal History of Employee in Indian Service, Personnel File for Rilla DePorte, NPRC; Reinstatement File for Rilla DePorte, September 23, 1915, Personnel File for Rilla DePorte, NPRC. Of Sac and Fox descent, DePorte graduated from Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, in 1912 and entered the Indian Service as a music teacher at her alma mater in 1913. For more on the DePortes, see Hanks, *This War Is for a Whole Life*, 131.

40 By 1924, twenty-seven women came from Sherman to Los Angeles to work for at least part of the year. In addition to the growing stream of students who ventured from Riverside to Los Angeles, the flow of young women from the Fort Yuma and Colorado River Reservations held steady. In 1923, just after DePorte's arrival, nineteen women came from the Fort Yuma Indian School to work for the summer. The group included women from the Pima, Tohono O'odham, Quechan, and Mojave tribes. Rilla DePorte to Loson Odle, October 23, 1924,Box 26, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing Pupils, 1923–25, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Girls from the Fort Yuma Indian School, June 15, 1923, Box 26, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing Pupils, 1923–25, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

41 Before taking her post in Los Angeles, Frances Hall worked under her husband at the Phoenix Indian School, Sherman Institute, and Chemawa Indian School, among other places. Harwood Hall to Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs H. B. Merritt, November 27, 1925, Personnel File for Harwood Hall, NPRC; Rilla DePorte to Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier, January 8, 1934, Personnel File for Rilla DePorte, NPRC; Personal History of Employee in Indian Service, Personnel File for Frances Hall, NPRC; John H. Holst to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, September 12, 1928, Box 1, Coded Correspondence Records of Supervisor Holst, 1928–29, Folder: Outing Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB; Record of Employment, Personnel File for Frances Hall, NPRC.

42 C. D. Carter to Charles Burke, February 11, 1926, Personnel File for Rilla DePorte, NPRC; Samuel Shortridge to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, February 15, 1926, Personnel File for Frances Hall, NPRC; Burke to Shortridge, March 16, 1926, Personnel File for Frances Hall, NPRC; Office of Indian Affairs Irrigation Engineer A. L. Wathen to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, October 31, 1928, Personnel File for Rilla DePorte, NPRC; Joseph DePorte to C. D. Carter, February 6, 1926, Personnel File for Rilla DePorte, NPRC.

43 Chief Clerk W. B. Acker to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, April 21, 1928, Personnel File for Harwood Hall, NPRC.

44 Hall received one hundred dollars per month from the Office of Indian Affairs, but fifteen dollars of each check went toward rent for her room at the outing cottage. Frances Hall to John H. Holst, October 10, 1928, Box 1, Coded Correspondence Records of Supervisor Holst, 1928–29, Folder: Outing Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB; Frances Hall to John H. Holst, October 23, 1928, Box 1, Coded Correspondence Records of Supervisor Holst, 1928–29, Folder: Outing Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB.

45 Assistant Commissioner E. B. Merritt to Frances Hall, April 3, 1929, Box 1, Coded Correspondence Records of Supervisor Holst, 1928-29, Folder: Outing Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB.

46 Report of Outing Matron for Month Ending February 28, 1929, Box 1, Folder: 00–1929, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Frances Hall to John H. Holst, June 22, 1929, Box 1, Coded Correspondence Records of Supervisor Holst, 1928–29, Folder: Outing Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB. For more on the challenges faced by women in the Office of Indian Affairs, see Carter, "Completely Discouraged"; Lawrence, *Lessons from an Indian Day School*; Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*.

47 A number of scholars have explored the crucial roles of women as agents of colonial projects and how the state used them to employ ideals of white domesticity as it attempted to control indigenous peoples. See, for example, Haskins, *Matrons and Maids*; McClintock, *Imperial Leather*; Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*; Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture*. While I build upon the work of these scholars, I am more concerned with exploring the challenges presented by outing in Los Angeles and the strategies employed by Native women to navigate the program.

48 For more on boarding schools as agents of proletarianization, see Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light,* 86.

49 For conditions imposed on domestic workers during visits home, see Loson Odle to Mrs. W. H. Brewer, June 7, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR. For cost and time of travel between Los Angeles and Yuma, see Los Angeles Outing Matron Frances Hall to E.W., June 11, 1926, SCF E.W., Box 383, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Voucher for Transportation of Passengers from Los Angeles to Yuma (1925), Southern Pacific Company, Box 26, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing Pupils, 1923–25, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

50 Mrs. Stannard A. McNeil to Fort Yuma Superintendent Loson Odle, October 14, 1919, Box 12, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing-General, 1918–20, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

51 Kathryn Von Hinzmann to Colorado River Superintendent Loson Odle, March 16, 1937, Box 180, Central Classified Correspondence, 1924–51, Folder: Field Matron, Los Angeles, CA, CRA, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Kathryn Von Hinzmann to Colorado River Superintendent Loson Odle, March 17, 1937, Box 180, Central Classified Correspondence, 1924–51, Folder: Field Matron, Los Angeles, CA, CRA, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

52 Grace Viets to Fort Yuma Indian School Superintendent Loson Odle, October 9, 1922, Box 26, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing Pupils, 1920–23, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

53 Jennie Hawthorne to Loson Odle, n.d., Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

54 Bertha Baker to Loson Odle, June 6, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Bertha Baker to Loson Odle, October 1, 1917, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

55 Jennie Hawthorne to Loson Odle, n.d., Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

56 Frances Sheridan to Loson Odle, January 5, 1919, Box 14, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Schools, Riverside, 1918–20, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

57 Loson Odle to Bertha Baker, July 13, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Loson Odle to Mrs. Stannard A. McNeil, October 2, 1917, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

58 Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. B. Merrit to Matilda Ewing, November 4, 1918, Box 12, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing, General, 1918–20, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

59 Frances Hall to John H. Holst, October 23, 1928, Box 1, Coded Correspondence Records of Supervisor Holst, 1928–29, Folder: Outing Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB; Copy of report sent to Civil Service Board, n.d., Box 1, Coded Correspondence Records of Supervisor Holst, 1928–29, Folder: Outing Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB; John H. Holst to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, November 12, 1928, Box 1, Coded Correspondence Records of Supervisor Holst, 1928–29, Folder: Outing Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB.

60 Frances Hall to Carl Moore, September 30, 1929, Box 3, Administrative Subject Records, 1929–32, Folder: Outing Center—Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB.

61 Frances Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Rhoads, May 21, 1929, Box 1, Coded Correspondence Records of Supervisor Holst, 1928–29, Folder: Outing Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB. On racism faced by Native students in public schools during the early twentieth century, see Szasz, *Education and the American Indian*, 102.

62 Frances Hall to John H. Holst, October 10, 1928, Box 1, Coded Correspondence Records of Supervisor Holst, 1928–29, Folder: Outing Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB.

63 John H. Holst to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, November 12, 1928, Box 1, Coded Correspondence Records of Supervisor Holst, 1928–29, Folder: Outing Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB; Service Record Card, Personnel File for Frances Hall, NPRC.

64 While the federal government had paid schools for taking on Native students since 1891, it did so on a district-by-district basis. Ryan laid the groundwork to negotiate public school contracts for Indian pupils on a state-to-federal government basis, and his efforts bore fruit in the form of the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934. California began enrolling more Native students in public schools as early as 1929, and in 1934 it became one of the first states to sign on under the terms of Johnson-O'Malley. See Szasz, *Education and the American Indian*, 89–105.

65 Isabel Webb to Loson Odle, August 1, 1924, Box 26, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing Pupils, 1920–23, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Clara Ortez to Loson Odle, n.d., Box 26, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing Pupils, 1920–23, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Lolita Dolores to Loson Odle, August 8, 1924, Box 26, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing Pupils, 1920–23, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Ella Cameron to Loson Odle, July 24, 1924, Box 26, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing Pupils, 1920–23, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Virginia Golding to Loson Odle, June 22, 1924, Box 26, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing Pupils, 1920–23, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Mary Jose to Loson Odle, July 27, 1924, Box 26, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing Pupils, 1920–23, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Anna Lewis to Loson Odle, July 18, 1924, Box 26, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing Pupils, 1920–23, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Margaret Johnston to Loson Odle, July 17, 1924, Box Box 26, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing Pupils, 1920–23, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

66 (Pseudonym) E.W. to Frank Conser, May 18, 1926, SCF E.W., Box 383, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

67 Ramirez, *Native Hubs*, 2. For additional looks at the relationship between city and reservation within Native communities, see Carpio, *Indigenous Albuquerque*; Lobo, "Is Urban a Person or a Place?"

68 Loson Odle to Bertha Baker, July 13, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

69 Loson Odle to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, November 3, 1914, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

70 Mina Reynolds to Clyde Gensler, July 16, 1934, Box 180, Central Classified Correspondence, 1924–51, Folder: Field Matron, Los Angeles, CA, CRA, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

71 Coleman, *American Indian Children at School*, 114–16, 170; Jacobs, "Diverted Mothering and American Indian Domestic Servants," 181; Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 70–71.

72 Victoria Jeager to Loson Odle, December 5, 1921, Box 16, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: 26, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Loson Odle to Victoria Jeager, December 8, 1921, Box 16, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: 26, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

73 Alice Carter to Loson Odle, June 30, 1913, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR. In 2013 dollars, fifteen and twenty dollars in 1913 would equal roughly $360 and $500, respectively.

74 Rilla DePorte to Fort Yuma Indian School Superintendent Byron Sharp, September 22, 1925, Box 26, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing Pupils, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR. In 1924, Martha Levy made thirty dollars per month working for the Arkush family at 416 South Hoover Street. Rilla DePorte to Loson Odle, May 5, 1924, Box 26, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing Pupils, 1920–23, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR. In 2013 dollars, twenty and thirty dollars in 1924 would equal roughly $270 and $400, respectively. Frances Hall to Clyde Gensler, June 5, 1934, Box 180, Central Classified Correspondence, 1924–51, Folder: Field Matron, Los Angeles, CA, CRA, BIA, RG 75 NAR. Twelve dollars in 1934 equals roughly two hundred dollars in 2013 dollars.

75 Rilla DePorte to Byron Sharpe, September 22, 1925, Box 26, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing Pupils, 1907–26, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

76 Bertha Baker to Loson Odle, July 12, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Bertha Baker to Loson Odle, June 6, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR. Historian and anthropologist Michael Tsosie has found that Mojave people also quickly became adept at finding one another in Los Angeles. Tsosie recalled that at the Colorado River Reservation, relatives would compile lists containing the names and locations of Mojaves living and working in Los Angeles. Mojave people living in Los Angeles could write or call home whenever they needed to locate one of their own in the city. Michael Tsosie, personal communication with the author, February 15, 2010.

77 Bertha Baker to Loson Odle, June 6, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Bertha Baker to Loson Odle, July 12, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Bertha Baker to Loson Odle, October 4, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Jennie Hawthorne to Loson Odle, n.d., Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

78 Eugenia Harris to Loson Odle, May 10, 1918, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

79 Edith Acquinas to Loson Odle, April 8, 1917, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

80 Mrs. A. H. Peir to Loson Odle, February 22, 1918, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

81 Margaret Jacobs notes a similar trend among outing workers in San Francisco ("Diverted Mothering among American Indian Domestic Servants," 182).

82 "Rules Governing School Girls Who Are In Families and Attending Public Schools," Box 180, Central Classified Correspondence, 1924–51, Folder: Field Matron, Los Angeles, CA, CRA, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

83 Helen Phillips to Inspector W. M. Coleman, March 25, 1919, Box 3, Folder: 2143–1919, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Affidavit of Donald Biery, October 8, 1934, Box 4, Folder: 78487–1923,

CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC. While relatively few records of pregnancies exist in outing files from Los Angeles, Margaret Jacobs estimates that over one-fourth of Native domestic workers on outing in the San Francisco Bay Area became pregnant as they worked. Outing matrons encouraged these women to give up their children for adoption and used the bureaucracy of the Office of Indian Affairs to help them in doing so. See Jacobs, "Diverted Mothering and American Indian Domestic Servants." While fewer domestic workers may have become pregnant in Southern California, the discrepancy in recorded pregnancies between outing programs in Los Angeles and San Francisco likely reflects a propensity on the part of officials in the former city to scrub their records of these cases.

84 Kelley, *Race Rebels*, 47.

85 Orrington Jewett to Loson Odle, September 24, 1917, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Bertha Baker to Loson Odle, October 1, 1917, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

86 Orrington Jewett to Loson Odle, September 26, 1917, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR. On connections between outing and marriage, see Haskins, *Matrons and Maids*, 99–101, 115.

87 Sherman Institute Superintendent Myrthus W. Evans to Yuma Methodist Indian Mission Pastor Vernon W. Bradley, May 15, 1962, SCF Ruth Millard, Box 245, CCF, RSI, BIA, NAR; Bertha Baker to Loson Odle, July 12, 1916, Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

88 Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*, 20–21, 108; Frances Hall to Carl Moore, October 22, 1929, Box 3, Administrative Subject Records, 1929–32, Folder: Outing Center—Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB.

89 Frances Hall to Carl Moore, October 22, 1929, Box 3, Administrative Subject Records, 1929–32, Folder: Outing Center—Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB. On the Wigwam Club, see Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*, 44, 106–8.

90 While the federal census counted just thirty-five and 133 Native American people in Los Angeles in the years 1920 and 1930, respectively, this was likely a vast undercount, as census takers attempted to identify race by sight alone. The 1928 tribal census performed by the State of California, in which Native people self-identified to enumerators, found 704 Native people in Los Angeles. See Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*, 20–21. On the undercounting of Native people by census takers, see Lobo, "Is Urban a Person or a Place?"

91 Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven*, 48; Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis*, 78–129; Davis, "Sunshine and the Open Shop."

92 In 1922, for example, Los Angeles Field Matron Matilda Ewing complained that "Indian boys and men at Torrance, California, working in the Llewellyn Iron Works come to the city Thursdays and Sundays when girls have the p.m. off and many times keep the girls out all night." Matilda Ewing to H. W. Palmer, June 22, 1922, Personnel File for Matilda Ewing, NPRC. Ewing's successor, Grace Viets, wrote to Colorado River Superintendent Leo Crane that there were "many Mojaves employed at the iron works at Torrance." Grace Viets to Leo Crane, December 29, 1922, Box 180, Central Classified Correspondence, 1924–51, Folder: Field Matron, Los Angeles, CA, CRA, BIA, RG 75 NAR. Outing records kept by Sherman Institute show that at least five men from the school worked full time for Llewellyn Iron Works between 1912 and 1930. See Outing Timecards, Records of Boys Outings, Boxes 115–22, Records of Sherman Institute, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Galen Townsend, personal interview with the author, February 16, 2010.

93 Haskins, *Matrons and Maids*.

94 Fixico, *The Urban Indian Experience in America*; LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*; Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*; Thrush, *Native Seattle*; Weibel-Orlando, *Indian Country L.A.* See also Miller, "Willing Workers."

95 For important exceptions, see Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*; Thrush, *Native Seattle*; Shoemaker, "Urban Indians and Ethnic Choices."

96 Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven*, 71.

97 Wild, *Street Meeting*, 10–14.

98 Jennie Hawthorne to Loson Odle, n.d., Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

99 (Pseudonym) Application for Enrollment in a Nonreservation School, SCF E.W., Box 383, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Frank Conser to Ruby Jennings, June 16, 1925, SCF E.W., Box 383, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Rilla DePorte to Frank Conser, December 16, 1925, SCF E.W., Box 383, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Frank Conser to D.W., May 20, 1926, SCF E.W., Box 383, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Frank Conser to Clyde Gensler, September 17, 1926, SCF E.W., Box 383, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Clyde Gensler to Frank Conser, September 23, 1926, SCF E.W., Box 383, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

100 Frank Conser to R.E., September 4, 1928, SCF E.W., Box 383, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Frank Conser to Clyde Gensler, September 4, 1928, SCF E.W., Box 383, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

101 Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally*, 150–52.

102 Avila, *Popular Culture and White Flight*, 21. On the rise of the "Spanish fantasy past" during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, see Kropp, *California Vieja*. See also Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*. For "white spot of America" quote, see Wild, *Street Meeting*, 38.

103 Wild, *Street Meeting*, 47–49; Molina, *Fit to Be Citizens?*, 77.

104 For an excellent survey of policies toward Asian immigration in the United States, see Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door.* See also McKeown, *Melancholy Order*; Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*.

105 Molina, *Fit to Be Citizens?*, 7–45.

106 Copy of report sent to Civil Service Board, n.d., Box 1, Coded Correspondence Records of Supervisor Holst, 1928–29, Folder: Outing Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB; Samuel H. Thompson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Rhoads, February 2, 1931, Box 3, Administrative Subject Records, 1929–32, Folder: Outing—Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB.

107 Jennie Hawthorne to Loson Odle, n.d., Box 11, Administrative Subject Files, 1907–26, Folder: Outing System, 1913–17, FY, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

108 (Pseudonym) Medical Certificate for S.W., Box 180, Central Classified Correspondence, 1924–51, Folder: Medical Certificates—Found loose in box, CRA, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

109 Clyde Gensler to Frances Hall, June 18, 1934, Box 180, Central Classified Correspondence, 1924–51, Folder: Field Matron, Los Angeles, CA, CRA, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Frances Hall to Clyde Gensler, June 14, 1934, Box 180, Central Classified Correspondence, 1924–51, Folder: Field Matron, Los Angeles, CA, CRA, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

110 Frances Hall to Clyde Gensler, June 20, 1934, Central Classified Correspondence, 1924–51, Folder: Field Matron, Los Angeles, CA, CRA, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Frances Hall to Clyde Gensler, June 14, 1934, Box 180, Central Classified Correspondence, 1924–51, Folder: Field Matron, Los Angeles, CA, CRA, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Frances Hall to Clyde Gensler, June 30, 1934, Box 180, Central Classified Correspondence, 1924–51, Folder: Field Matron, Los Angeles, CA, CRA, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

CHAPTER 4. INDIANS "SHOULD NOT GO THERE"

1 Carl Moore to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Rhoads, January 26, 1931, Box 3, Administrative Subject Records, 1929–32, Folder: Outing Center Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB. By the time Moore visited the Midnight Mission in 1930, it had become one of the primary hubs for relief to unemployed and homeless people in Los Angeles. The shelter provided beds for 130,890 people, and served 315,982 meals in 1930 alone. As historian William H. Mullins has noted, the prominence of shelters such as the Midnight Mission represented the hesitancy of state and county governments in California to provide direct intervention through welfare and jobs programs. By 1931 the Midnight Mission became so overwhelmed with visitors that it began scavenging restaurants for table scraps to supplement its meals. See Mullins, *The Depression and the Urban West Coast*, 32, 68. For a concise account of the Great Depression in Los Angeles, see Martin, "California's Unemployed Feed Themselves."

2 Service Record Card No. 2, Personnel File for Frances Hall, NPRC; Frances Hall to Mission Agency Superintendent C. L. Ellis, May 9, 1932, Personnel File for Frances Hall, NPRC; Frances Hall to Carl Moore, July 15, 1931, Box 3, School Inspection Records, Folder: Los Angeles Supervisor's Letters, August 6, 1931, and July 15, 1931, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB.

3 Frances Hall to Mission Agency Superintendent C. L. Ellis, May 9, 1932, Personnel File for Frances Hall, NPRC.

4 Samuel H. Thompson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Rhodes, February 3, 1931, Box 3, Administrative Subject Records, 1929–32, Folder: Outing Center—Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB. Since these women attended school during the day and performed domestic labor only at night and on the weekends, they received lower monthly pay than their full-time counterparts.

5 Frances Hall to Carl Moore, July 15, 1931, Box 3, School Inspection Records, 1929–34, Folder: Los Angeles Supervisor's Letters, August 5, 1931, and July 15, 1931, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB.

6 Carl Moore to Frances Hall, March 3, 1932, Box 38, Folder: Outing System, 1932–33, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Frances Hall to Carl Moore, March 8, 1932, Box 38, Folder: Outing System, 1932–33, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Frances Hall to Donald Biery, September 5, 1933, Box 38, Folder: Outing System, 1932-33, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR. Beck and La Pier have noted similarly robust use of the federal job placement program by Native people in Chicago throughout the 1930s. Collier also reduced funding for that placement office. See Beck and Lapier, "A 'one-man relocation team.'"

7 Frances Hall to Carl Moore, February 26, 1930, Box 3, Folder: Outing Center—Los Angeles, Administrative Subject Records, 1929–32, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB; Frances Hall to Carl Moore, July 15, 1931, Box 3, School Inspection Records, Folder: Los Angeles Supervisor's Letters, August 6, 1931, and July 15, 1931, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB. For an extended discussion of the costs and benefits of domestic work versus wage labor among women during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Katzman, *Seven Days a Week*, 223–29.

8 Davis, *City of Quartz*, 28–32; McWilliams, *Southern California*, 273–313; Martin, "California's Unemployed Feed Themselves," 45; Mullins, *The Depression and the Urban West Coast*, 87–89.

9 Frances Hall to Sherman Institute Superintendent Donald Biery, September 5, 1933, Box 38, Folder: Outing System, 1932–33, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

10 Carl Moore to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Rhoads, January 26, 1931, Box 3, Administrative Subject Records, 1929–32, Folder: Outing Center Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB.

11 Frances Hall to Mission Agency Superintendent C. L. Ellis, May 9, 1932, Personnel File for Frances Hall, NPRC; Dorothy Ellis to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Rhoads, January 15, 1930, Box 3, Administrative Subject Records, 1929–32, Folder: Outing Center Los Angeles, RSIE, BIA, RG 75 NASB.

12 Mullins, *The Depression and the Urban West Coast*, 1–2.

13 Ibid., 29–44.

14 Martin, "California's Unemployed Feed Themselves," 35–45; Mullins, *The Depression and the Urban West Coast*, 52–96.

15 Other federal initiatives introduced by the Roosevelt administration included the Federal Emergency Relief Administration the Civil Works Administration, which provided relief funds; the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, which helped certain families to adjust their mortgages in order to remain in their home; and the National Recovery Administration, which enacted price controls and other measures in order to speed economic recovery. For more on the slew of policies enacted during the first years of the Roosevelt administration, see Badger, *The New Deal*. See also Fraser and Gerstle, *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order*, 1–122.

16 Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White*, 19–23.

17 John Collier to Donald Biery, September 21, 1933, Box 38, Folder: Outing System, 1932–33, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform*, 129. After reaching a high of $11 million in appropriations for fiscal year 1932, the budget for the Office of Indian Affairs declined slowly and steadily throughout the 1930s, reaching a low of $10 million in 1940.

18 John Collier to Sherman Institute Superintendent Donald Biery, September 21, 1933, Box 38, Folder: Outing System, 1932–33, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

19 Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier to Sherman Institute Superintendent Donald Biery, September 21, 1933, Box 38, Folder: Outing System, 1932–33, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; List of Surplus Furniture and Furnishings, September 1, 1933, Box 99, General Correspondence, 1933–48, Folder: C-D, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

20 Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier to Sherman Institute Superintendent Donald Biery, September 21, 1933, Box 38, Folder: Outing System, 1932–33, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

21 Claim No. R67693, Service Record and Retirement Division, United States Civil Service Commission, Personnel File for Frances Hall, NPRC; John Collier, Justification for New Position, December 12, 1934, Personnel File for Katherine Mahn, NPRC; F. H. Daiker to Katherine Mahn, June 27, 1941, Personnel File for Katherine Mahn, NPRC.

22 For a look at the on-the-ground effects of Collier's Indian Reorganization Act, see Biolsi, *Organizing the Lakota*. For examples of Collier's reverence for Native culture, see Daily, *Battle for the B.I.A.*, 36–80. See also Kelly, *The Assault on Assimilation*; Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform*.

23 Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform*, 4–7.

24 Ibid., 7–15; Kelly, *The Assault on Assimilation*, 199–201.

25 Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform*, 25–28.

26 Kelly, *The Assault on Assimilation*, 120.

27 Ibid., 129; Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform*, 97.

28 Kelly, *The Assault on Assimilation*, 131–32.

29 Szasz, *Education and the American Indian*, 23–27.

30 Ibid. For more on Estelle Reel, see Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel."

31 Szasz, *Education and the American Indian*, 29–32, 48. Between 1928 and 1933 the number of boarding schools operated by the Office of Indian Affairs dipped from seventy-seven to sixty-five.

32 Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform*, 128–29.
33 Ibid.
34 Circular from Willard Beatty to non-reservation boarding schools, February 12, 1938, Box 112, Folder: Educational Tour, 1939, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.
35 Frank Conser died suddenly in November of 1931, and Biery replaced him early in 1932. Record of Employment, Personnel File for Frank Conser, NPRC.
36 Biery sent Ralph Johnson, Charles Flint, Robert Sneddon, Edna Schnarr, and Frank Smith on the "educational tours" of the home reservations of Sherman students. Reservations and rancherias visited included Colorado River, Hoopa Valley, Pala, Fort Bidwell, Tule River, Morongo, Santa Rosa, Mesa Grande, Santa Isabel, Colusa, Lakeport, Upper Lake, Tuolumne, Auberry, and Le Moore. See Willard Beatty to Donald Biery, n.d., Box 112, Folder: Educational Tour, 1939, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.
37 Report on Field Trip, n.d., Box 112, Folder: Educational Tour and Follow-up of Grads and Dropouts, 1939–41 (3/3), RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
40 Migrant labor is an almost constant theme throughout accounts of "educational tours" in Northern California. For example, Mr. McCollum, a farmer who lived near the Susanville Rancheria, argued that working in the timber industry provided the most reliable income to local indigenous people. McCollum stated that "Indian students did not take to agriculture" and that "many of the students returning permanently or on vacation were employed in the mills and the supporting utilities." Report on Susanville Rancheria, Box 112, Folder: Educational Tour, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.
41 Report on Tolumne Rancheria, June 10, 1941, Box 112, Folder: Educational Tour and Follow-up of Graduates and Dropouts, 1939–41 (2/3), RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.
42 Ibid.
43 Tentative Outline for the Senior Household Science Department, 1938–39, Box 112, Folder: Vocational Education Reports, 1936–39 (1/2), RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR. For an excellent account of the girls' vocational program at Sherman Institute, see Paxton, "Learning Gender."
44 Edna Schnarr, Girls Vocational Curriculum, 1938–39, Box 112, Folder: Vocational Education Reports, 1936–39 (1/2), RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Indian Recipes, Senior and Sophomore Girls, n.d., Box 112, Folder: Vocational Education Reports, 1936–39, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR. Recipes collected by Schnarr included mission stew, corn fritters, hominy, wild rice, and acorn mush.
45 Edna Schnarr, Girls Vocational Curriculum, 1938–39, Box 112, Folder: Vocational Education Reports, 1936–39 (1/2), RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.
46 Parman, "The Indian and the Civilian Conservation Corps."
47 Ibid. See also Hosmer, "Dollar a Day and Glad to Have It."
48 Field Agent W. Norwood Cox to Sherman Institute Superintendent Donald Biery, September 19, 1939, Box 99, General Correspondence, 1933–48, Folder: C-D, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Employment Survey, September 18, 1933, SCF H.B., Box 29, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Donald Biery to Harry W. Webster, July 16, 1940, Box 99, General Correspondence, 1933–48, Folder: C (3/4), RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.
49 During the summer of 1935, for example, nine male students worked on a CCC project at March Air Field, an army base located just south of Riverside. Captain Horace J. Smith to Donald Biery, June 17, 1935, Box 37, Folder: Outing System (1934), CCF, RSI, BIA, RG

75 NAR; Assistant Forest Supervisor M. H. Davis to Donald Biery, June 28, 1933, Box 99, General Correspondence, 1933–48, Folder: D (1/2), RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

50 Jacobs, *Engendered Encounters*, 149–79.

51 Ibid., 149. See also Robert Fay Schrader, *The Indian Arts and Crafts Board*, 1–4. On trading posts in the American Southwest, see Bsumek, *Indian-Made*, 15–37, 117–120.

52 On the stance of the Indian Office toward Native art during the first two decades of the twentieth century, see Schrader, *The Indian Arts and Crafts Board*, 4–20. For an excellent summary of battles among white reformers and artists over the meaning of Pueblo art, see Jacobs, *Engendered Encounters*, 149–79. Jacobs argues that antimodern feminist artists Mabel Dodge Luhan and Elizabeth DeHuff saw Pueblo pottery as a last vestige of "real" Pueblo culture, and they sought above all else to keep Pueblo pottery "authentic." A second group, spearheaded by Indian day school teacher Clara True, argued that the utility of Indian art outweighed its symbolic value and that Native communities should use art for profit rather than cultural preservation.

53 Norrgard, "Beyond Folklore"; Greci Green, "Anishinaabe Gathering Rights and Market Arts."

54 Schrader, *The Indian Arts and Crafts Board*, 78–122.

55 Ibid., 122; Jacobs, *Engendered Encounters*, 150–79; S. B. Kienholz to John Collier, December 4, 1930, Box 111, Folder: Vocational Education Surveys, 1930–34, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

56 Proceedings of the Conference on Vocational Education in Indian Schools, Box 111, Folder: Vocational Education Surveys, 1930–34, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

57 Ibid.

58 Girls Vocational Training Curriculum, 1936–37, Box 111, Folder Vocational Education Surveys, 1930–34, RSI BIA, RG 75 NAR. References used by students for "Indian" designs included Westlake, *American Indian Designs*; Bunzel, *The Pueblo Potter*; Amsden, *Navaho Weaving*.

59 Report on Indian Arts and Crafts, n.d., Box 112, Folder: Vocational Education Reports, 1936–39 (1/2), RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR. The production of everyday household objects with "Indian" flourishes began as early as 1906, when Ho Chunk artist Angel DeCora worked indigenous designs into courses on arts and crafts at Carlisle Industrial School. See Simonsen, *Making Home Work*, Kindle edition, locations 2708–808.

60 Edna Schnarr, Tentative Outline for the Senior Household Science Department, 1938–39, Box 112, Folder: Vocational Education Reports, 1936–39 (1/2), RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

61 Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*, 61.

62 Report on Field Trip, Box 112, Folder: Educational Tour and Follow-up of Grads and Dropouts, 1939–41 (3/3), RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; "From Alturas to Susanville," Box 112, Folder: Educational Tour, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

63 Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform*, 129. For the original quote, see Cash and Hoover, *To Be an Indian*, 126.

64 Here I take cues from Philip J. Deloria's *Indians in Unexpected Places*, esp. 109–35. Deloria is one of the first to examine the experiences of Native people who attended college during the early twentieth century. See also Pfister, *The Yale Indian*; Neuman, *Indian Play*.

65 Sherman Superintendent Frank Conser to Charles Rhoads, June 14, 1928, Box 37, Folder: Junior College Students, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

66 Ibid. Conser referred especially to the Meriam Report of 1928.

67 Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. B. Merritt to Frank Conser, August 21, 1928, Box 37, Folder: Junior College Students, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

68 Harvey, "Muskrat, Ruth (Bronson)"; Donald Biery to Ruth Muskrat Bronson, June 7, 1939, Box 26, Folder: 54787–1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Office of Indian Affairs Circular no. 57183, Regulation for Administration of the Educational Loan Fund, September 25, 1931, Box 37, Folder: Junior College Students, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

69 John Collier to Donald Biery, April 29, 1933, Folder: Junior College, Box 37, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR. Section 11 of the Wheeler Howard Bill set aside $250,000 per year to provide loans for American Indians attending trade and vocational schools, colleges, and universities. Tellingly, the bill made only $50,000 per year available for students in colleges in universities; the remainder went to students in vocational and trade programs. For a concise look at support for higher education provided by the Wheeler Howard Bill, see Szasz, *Education and the American Indian*, 102–3.

70 Mildred Van Every, "Findings from the Educational Staff Conference, Riverside, California, November 14–15, 1938," Box 26, Folder: 54787–1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

71 While these loan amounts far exceeded the cost of tuition, students used much of the loan money for travel between their reservation communities and school. For costs of attending Riverside Junior College, see Donald Biery to Naomi Hefferman, August 4, 1932, Box 37, Folder: Junior College, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Carl Moore to Oscar H. Lipps, June 21, 1932, Box 37, Folder: Junior College, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Riverside Junior College Circular of Information, 1929–30, Box 19, Folder: 46675–1929, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

72 Request for Allotment, Sylvia Angel, 1933, Box 10, Folder: 19015–1933, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Request for Allotment, Claren Yarger, Box 10, Folder: 19015–1933, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

73 Medical Examination Report, Kirby Lee Anderson, Box 10, Folder: 37188–1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Kirby Lee Anderson, Certificate of High School Study, Haskell Institute, Box 10, Folder: 37188–1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Kirby Lee Anderson to Ruth Muskrat Bronson, May 9, 1934, Box 10, Folder: 37723–1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Haskell Institute Dean of Men R. C. Starr, Letter of Recommendation for Kirby Lee Anderson, May 22, 1934, Box 10, Folder: 37722–1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Winnie Macon, Letter of Recommendation for Kirby Lee Anderson, May 4, 1934, Box 10, Folder: 37723–1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Alice Langdon, Letter of Recommendation for Kirby Lee Anderson, n.d., Box 10, Folder: 37723–1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; John Collier to Kirby Lee Anderson, August 9, 1934, Folder: 37723–1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

74 Randolph Baker to Ruth Muskrat Bronson, May 10, 1934, Box 10, Folder: 37725–1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Randolph Baker, Application for Educational Loan, April 27, 1934, Box 10, Folder: 37725–1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Grades for Randolph Baker, Riverside Junior College, December 15, 1934, Box 10, Folder: 37725–1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

75 Ruth Muskrat Bronson to Willard Beatty, March 31, 1937, Box 26, Folder: 54787–1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

76 While these students did not stay at Sherman Institute, employees from the school occasionally visited them to monitor their progress. See Girls' Advisor Olive Ellis to Donald Biery, April 25, 1936, Box 26, Folder: 54787–1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Ruth Muskrat Bronson to Willard Beatty, March 31, 1937, Box 26, Folder: 54787–1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

77 Eight graduates of Sherman Institute received loans of $308 from the Office of Indian Affairs to attend Bacone College for the 1932–33 school year. Donald Biery to William

Rhodes, June 9, 1932, Box 37, Folder: Junior College Students, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR. For more on Bacone, see Neuman, *Indian Play*.

78 Student Record, SCF Elmer Miller, Box 246, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Grade Reports, Riverside Polytechnic High School, 1932, SCF Elmer Miller, Box 246, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR. Miller earned good grades in his last semester at Riverside Polytechnic: As in band and orchestra, Bs in chemistry and sociology.

79 Elmer Miller to Donald Biery, August 22, 1934, SCF Elmer Miller, Box 246, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

80 Elmer Miller to Ruth Muskrat Bronson, n.d., Box 10, Folder: 18893—1933, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; John Collier to Sherman Superintendent Donald Biery, August 14, 1934, SCF Elmer Miller, Box 246, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

81 Sherman Institute Superintendent Donald Biery to Ruth Muskrat Bronson, October 10, 1935, Box 10, Folder: 50784–1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Ruth Muskrat Bronson to Asbury Gilbert, October 24, 1935, Box 10, Folder: 50784–1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Ruth Muskrat Bronson to Los Angeles Social Worker Kathryn Von Hinzmann, August 17, 1937, Box 10, Folder: 50784–1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

82 Classroom Report on Loretta K. Hurley, January 14, 1929, Box 17, Folder: Supervisory Reports, 1929–31, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

83 Elmer Miller to Ruth Muskrat Bronson, January 11, 1935, SCF Elmer Miller, Box 246, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR. For a fascinating portrait of the community of urban American Indians that coalesced around the Oakland YWCA during the 1930s and 1940s, see the personal interview of YWCA social worker Mildred Van Every, conducted by Susan Lobo, October 35, 1979, Box 2, Folder: 8, Oral History Interview, 1979–80, Mildred Van Every Papers, BANC MSS 99/142, BL, UCB. See also Willard, "Outing, Relocation, and Employment Assistance," 31. For another take on the intertribal social scene in the San Francisco Bay Area in the early twentieth century, see Jacobs, "Working on the Domestic Frontier."

84 Elmer Miller to Ruth Muskrat Bronson, January 11, 1935, SCF Elmer Miller, Box 246, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Donald Biery to Ruth Muskrat Bronson, August 17, 1936, SCF Elmer Miller, Box 246, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR.

85 Grades from Riverside Junior College, Received July 21, 1935, Box 26, Folder: 54787–1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

86 Claren Yarger to Ruth Muskrat Bronson, January 26, 1934, Box 10, Folder: 19015–1933, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

87 Yakima Agency Superintendent C. H. Whitlock to John Collier, August 11, 1933, Box 10, Folder: 37188, 1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; John Collier to Edna Wesley, September 19, 1933, Box 10, Folder: 37188,1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

88 Olive Ellis, Report on Edna Wesley, Box 10, Folder: 37188–1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Grades from Riverside Junior College, Received July 20, 1935, Box 26, Folder: 54787–1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

89 Grades from Riverside Junior College, Received July 21, 1935, Folder: 54787–1934, Box 26, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Donald Biery to Ruth Muskrat Bronson, June 28, 1934, Box 10, Folder: 50784–1934, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC.

90 From the fall of 1933 to the spring of 1935, Paiute Viola Martinez and Ute Eunice Lynn excelled at Riverside Junior College and the California State Teachers' College in Santa Barbara, where both received scholarship and loan support from the Office of Indian Affairs. After graduating in 1938, both worked as social workers, Martinez for the City of Los Angeles and Lynn for the California State Relief Agency. Grades from Riverside

Junior College, Received July 21, 1935, Folder: 54787–1934, Box 26, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Typed excerpt from the *Riverside Press*, March 28, 1935, Folder: 00–1935, Box 20, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NADC; Kathrynn Von Hinzmann to Uintah and Ouray Agent Lewis Page, April 7, 1937, SCF Eunice Lynn, Box 219, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Carson Agency Welfare Agent Lucille Hamner to Los Angeles Social Worker Kathryn Von Hinzmann, October 2, 1937, SCF Eunice Lynn, Box 219, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR. On the experiences of Lynn and Martinez at the State Teachers' College, see Bahr, *Viola Martinez*, 67–87. On the careers of Lynn and Maroney, see Eunice Lynn to Donald Biery, October 25, 1939, SCF Eunice Lynn, Box 219, CCF, RSI, BIA, RG 75 NAR; Bahr, *Viola Martinez*, 100–120.

91 To date, indigenous higher education in the early twentieth century has received relatively little attention. See Carney, *Native American Higher Education in the United States*, 43–94; Szasz, *Education and the American Indian*, 102–3; Pfister, *The Yale Indian*; Neuman, *Indian Play*. It should be noted that a number of scholars have looked at Native higher education in the self-determination era of the 1960s and 1970s. See, for example, Szasz, *Education and the American Indian*, 102–22, 189–239; Deloria and Wildcat, *Power and Place*, 123–33; Champagne and Stauss, *Native American Studies in Higher Education*.

92 Harvey, "Muskrat, Ruth (Bronson)," 414.

CONCLUSION

1 Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*, 25–27; Weibel-Orlando, *Indian Country, L.A.*, 13. For a broader look at Native employment in the war industries during World War II, see LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*, 37.

2 Fixico, *Termination and Relocation*, 92–110, 134–56.

3 Blackhawk, "I Can Carry On from Here"; LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*, 45–67; Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*, 49–74; Fixico, *Termination and Relocation*, 134–56; Weibel-Orlando, *Indian Country, L.A.*, 13–15.

4 Fixico, *Termination and Relocation*; Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*; LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis*; Blackhawk, "I Can Carry On from Here."

5 Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*.

6 Hosmer, "Dollar a Day and Glad to Have It," 286; Albers, "Marxism and Historical Materialism in American Indian History." For an insightful look at the structure-versus-agency debate within the broader field of labor history, see Weber, *Dark Sweat, White Gold*, 1–16.

7 Usner, *Indian Work*, 145.

8 Ibid., 18–41.

9 Bsumek, *Indian-Made*; Raibmon, *Authentic Indians*.

10 Hoxie, "From Prison to Homeland."

11 On the concept of "unthinkable histories," see Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*.

12 Adams, "Beyond Bleakness"; Ellis, "We Had a Lot of Fun."

13 O'Neill, "Rethinking Modernity and the Discourse of Development," 2–9.

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